Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-89-024
Tuesday
7 February 1989

Daily Report
Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-89-024 CONTENTS *7 February 1989*

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

'No Alternative' to Military Cutbacks *[Kondrashov in IZVESTIYA 5 Feb]* 1
Further on Karpov, Omelichev News Conference *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 1 Feb]* 3
Correction to Omelichev News Conference on Forces 3
Pentagon To Develop New Chemical Weapons *[TASS]* 4
U.S. 'Unwilling' To Eliminate Chemical Weapons *[Golts in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 3 Feb]* 4
Observer on Need for Chemical Weapons Ban *[Matyash on TASS]* 5
Commentary Views U.S. Strategic Arms Stance *[Vedenyapin on Moscow Radio]* 5
Obstacles to March Vienna Talks Viewed *[Kuznetsov on Moscow Radio Peace and Progress]* 6
INF Treaty Implementation Continues *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 4 Feb]* 7

WORLDWIDE ISSUES

Shevardnadze's Foreign Tour Reviewed *[Moscow International]* 9
'Roundtable' on Pact Statement, Afghanistan *[Agayants, Kassis, Kornilov on Moscow Radio]* 10
Zagladin Addresses Meeting on Environment *[TASS]* 14
UN Human Rights Commission Session Assessed *[TASS]* 15
France's Rocard Addresses Session *[TASS]* 15
UN Committee on Nongovernmental Groups Meets *[TASS]* 16

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

United States & Canada

Bush Hints at Cooperation on Central America *[TASS]* 17
Ambassador Matlock Interviewed on Soviet Relations *[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY No 5]* 17
Public Diplomacy Group Recommends USIA Funding *[Lyutyy in PRAVDA 1 Feb]* 19
Journalists' Charges of Soviet Terrorism Refuted
[Bogomolov in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 5 Feb] 19
Decision To Cancel 'Reforger' Exercise Lauded *[Gan in PRAVDA 4 Feb]* 20
U.S. Journalists Visit Soviet Missile Cruiser *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 1 Feb]* 21
Canadian Reactions to U.S. Missile Test Viewed *[IZVESTIYA 3 Feb]* 21

China

Bovin Welcomes USSR-PRC Normalization *[IZVESTIYA 8 Feb]* 22
Blagoveshchensk-Heihe City Trade Outlined *[Moscow International]* 23
Tuva ASSR, PRC's Shenyang Sign Accord *[Moscow International]* 24
PRC Political Reforms, Background Outlined *[IZVESTIYA 2 Feb]* 24

Near East & South Asia

Shevardnadze Holds News Conference in Islamabad *[PRAVDA 7 Feb]* 27
Vorontsov Concludes 'Constructive' Talks in Tehran *[PRAVDA 7 Feb]* 32
Continuing Pullout From Afghanistan Reported 32
Scenes of Withdrawal Described *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 3 Feb]* 32
Clashes, Casualties, Violations *[TASS]* 34
'Irreconcilable' Rebels Fight On *[TASS]* 34
Kabul 'Practically' Under Martial Law *[Moscow Radio]* 35
Population Mainly 'Well Disposed' *[IZVESTIYA 6 Feb]* 35

Kabul 'Still Quiet' *[IZVESTIYA 7 Feb]* 36
Correspondent Describes Pullout *[Moscow Radio]* 36
Communists Will 'Defend' Country *[TASS]* 37
Afghan Rebels Shell Khowst *[TASS]* 37
Herat Province Units Head Home *[IZVESTIYA 7 Feb]* 38
USSR Not 'Indifferent' to Future of Afghanistan *[Bay in IZVESTIYA 7 Feb]* 38
Afghan Opposition Tactics, U.S. Position Analyzed *[Fadayev on Moscow Radio]* 39
War 'Epitomizes' Brezhnev Foreign Policy Errors *[Kondrashov on Moscow TV]* 40
Conflict Resolution 'Depends' Largely on Pakistan *[Glazunov on Moscow International]* 40
Former Afghan King Reaffirms Desire To Help *[TASS]* 41

East Europe

'Roundtable' Talks Open in Poland 6 Feb *[TASS]* 41
Walesa Arrives Late for Session *[Moscow Radio]* 41
Urban News Conference on Session *[TASS]* 42
PPR's Sekula Holds News Conference on PZPR Plenum *[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY No 5]* 42
Further on Talyzin Talks, Meetings in Budapest *[PRAVDA 4 Feb]* 43
Paper on Developing Hungary-S. Korea Ties *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 3 Feb]* 44
Comparison of Report on Medvedev Visit to Bucharest *[PRAVDA 1 Feb]* 45
Bucharest Meeting Marks USSR Treaty Jubilee *[PRAVDA 4 Feb]* 45
SED, CPCZ Officials on Dialogue, Peace Strategy *[PRAVDA 4 Feb]* 45

West Europe

Switzerland Accuses Soviet Diplomat of Spying *[Berne International]* 45
UK Labour Party Delegation Visits, Meets Officials 46
Petrovskiy Receives Delegation *[TASS]* 46
Yakovlev Receives Delegation *[TASS]* 46
Arbatov on Meeting With Politicians *[Moscow TV]* 46
Politicians End Visit *[TASS]* 46
UK Envoy Confers With Foreign Ministry's Karpov *[IZVESTIYA 4 Feb]* 47
Kamentsev-led Trade Delegation Arrives in UK *[TASS]* 47
Spanish Economic Cooperation Protocol Signed *[TASS]* 47

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political & Social

More on People's Deputies Election Campaigns 49
'New Stage' Analyzed *[Prokhorov on TASS]* 49
Science Academy Nominations Viewed *[SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA 4 Feb]* ... 49
Gen Lizichev Presents Platform *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 4 Feb]* 51
Key Qualities of Statesmen Viewed *[SOVETSKAYA KULTURA 31 Jan]* 56
Official Says 'All' 'Karabakh' Leaders Under Arrest *[TASS]* 56
Article Defends Adoption of NKAO Decree *[BAKINSKIY ROBOCHIY 19 Jan]* 57
Politburo Commission Examines Rebuilding Spitak *[TASS]* 58
Arutunyan, Voronin, Others Visit Leninakan *[Yerevan International]* 59
Official on Armenian Reconstruction Plans *[TASS]* 59
Azerbaijan Bureau Discusses Nationalities Issue *[Baku KOMMUNIST 26 Jan]* 59
Baku Commandant Says Situation Calm *[Baku Radio]* 60
*PRAVDA Writes on 'Corruption' in Azerbaijan *[28 Jan]* 60
Consecration Ceremony Held at Vilnius Cathedral *[TASS]* 62
Crowds Pack Cathedral *[AFP]* 62
Lithuanian Plenum Approves 'Appeal' to Voters *[SOVETSKAYA LITVA 22 Jan]* 62
Lithuania's 'Yedinstvo' Movement Holds Conference *[SOVETSKAYA LITVA 24 Jan]* 63
Retired Officers 'Worried' by 'Sajudis' Movement *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 2 Feb]* 63
Lithuanian Lawyers Form Union Based on 'Openness' *[TIESA 15 Dec]* 63
Lithuanian Local Industries Minister Replaced *[TIESA 3 Jan]* 64
Lithuania Gets Copy of Hitler-Stalin Document
[Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE 4 Feb] 64

Estonian People's Front Appeal Marks Treaty Date *[Tallin Radio]* 65
Ukraine Government Examines Socioeconomic State *[PRAVDA UKRAINY 24 Jan]* 65
Kiev Street Renamed for Ukrainian Military Figure *[Moscow Radio]* 66
Kirghiz KGB Chief Reassigned to Moscow *[SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA 17 Jan]* 66
Other Kirghiz Government Changes *[SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA 17 Jan]* 67
*Turkmen Plenum Elects Party Secretary *[IZVESTIYA 29 Jan]* 67
'Antirestructuring' Forces Seen as 'Dangerous' *[Zakharov in IZVESTIYA 3 Feb]* 68
Former OGONEK Editor on Restructuring *[Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET 29 Jan]* 71
Museum's Stalin Era Exhibits Replaced *[TASS]* 73
*Poll on Familiarity With Once-Repressed Works *[IZVESTIYA 1 Feb]* 73
*Plans for USSR Lawyers' Union Ill-Received *[SOVETSKAYA KULTURA 2 Feb]* 74
Official Details Plans for Arctic Development *[TASS]* 76
*CPSU Budget Revenues, Expenditures Outlined *[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY No 5]* 76

Economic

Council of Ministers Discusses Foreign Trade *[PRAVDA 5 Feb]* 77
*Causes of Inflation, Shortages Considered *[PRAVDA 2 Feb]* 77
*Foreign Currency Black Market Examined *[TRUD 2 Feb]* 80

Agricultural

Leaders Attend Food Production Seminar in Ukraine 82
Food Output 'Vital' to Reform *[Moscow Radio]* 82
Ligachev Emphasizes Improved Technology *[Moscow TV]* 83
Nikonov Views Existing Problems *[Moscow TV]* 83
*Agricultural Leaseholders' Legal Status Viewed *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 1 Feb]* 84
Agricultural Developments for 26 Jan-1 Feb *[Moscow Radio]* 85

Scientific

'New-Generation' Nuclear Reactor in Belorussia *[TASS]* 86
'Phobos' Probe Measures Martian Surface *[TASS]* 86
Successful Mars Probe, 'Buran' Plans Viewed *[Moscow International]* 86
International Manned Flight to Mars 'Possible' *[TASS]* 87
'Mir' Crew Perform Supply, Geophysical Activities 87
'Progress-39' Undocked *[TASS]* 87
Crew Photographs Siberia *[Moscow International]* 87
Cosmonauts 'Feeling Good' *[TASS]* 88
Weather Forces Icebreaker To End Arctic Drift *[Moscow International]* 88

Military

Defense Industry Converting to Civilian Output 88
Chernyshev Outlines Plans *[TASS]* 88
Karpov on Problems of Conversion *[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY No 5]* 89
Injustices, Bullying Persist in Military Life *[PRAVDA 29 Jan]* 91
Leaders Sign Lt Gen Balakirev Obituary *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 4 Feb]* 92

'No Alternative' to Military Cutbacks

PM0602144589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by political observer Stanislav Kondrashov: "Two Dimensions of Parity—Military-Strategic and Ordinary Human"]

[Text] So, the Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers Committee has published its statement "On the Correlation of Warsaw Pact and North Atlantic Alliance Force Strengths and Armaments in Europe and Adjoining Waters."

It is hard to overrate the importance of this act, which was, of course, adopted on instructions from the political leaders of the Warsaw Pact states. This is the first time the Soviet and world public have been given an opportunity to become familiar with official data about the section of the Soviet Armed Forces deployed on our country's European territory as well as data on the armed forces of the other Warsaw Pact states in correlation with the corresponding NATO potential. This is first.

Second, a new and exceptionally important chapter has begun in a sphere where the successes of glasnost have been extremely modest—the military sphere. In our country, this sphere is distinguished by a degree of secrecy which, in the age of space and electronic intelligence gathering, has largely lost its former traditional purpose and has, moreover, become counterproductive because it engenders suspicion and mistrust in other states and, on the domestic side, protects military building from the requisite monitoring by the public, by the people. Now, with the first step having been taken, there must be no stopping—it is necessary to go further and honor the pledge, officially given to the international community, to publish data on the Soviet Union's total military expenditure.

Third, glasnost in this sphere is needed not for its own sake, not for the sake of satisfying curiosity or inquisitiveness, but as an effective instrument of restructuring in both domestic and international relations. The publication of the data came just a few days after the conclusion of the Vienna meeting and the adoption of its final document, and just over a month before the next and long-awaited Vienna meeting, when talks will begin between the 7 Warsaw Pact and 16 NATO states on reducing conventional armed forces from the Atlantic to the Urals. A promising overture to this event was provided by the measures on a unilateral reduction of USSR armed forces and armaments, announced by M.S. Gorbachev from the UN rostrum last December. It is well known that this has been followed by corresponding reductions in Hungary, the GDR, and other Warsaw Pact states. This provides weighty proof that the USSR and its allies are preparing in reality rather than just in words for the forthcoming talks among the 23 states, that they take seriously the task of reducing military confrontation in Europe.

As far as our domestic life is concerned, expanding openness in the military sphere directly fits into the course of political reform, whose objective is to create an effective rule-of-law state by eliminating the bureaucratic, administrative-edict system which had arrogantly elevated itself above the people and remained deaf to voices coming "from below."

Even though we do have a certain amount of experience in a parliamentary system, it is more an experience of exposing other countries' bourgeois parliamentarianism than of operating our own. Meanwhile, one of the most important—if not the most important—tasks of the Congress of People's Deputies which will assemble following the March elections, and of the Supreme Soviet which will be constituted from among its members, will be to master a skill which has hitherto not been fully accessible to our legislative power—to precisely calculate and intelligently spend every one of the people's kopeks and rubles, in millions and billions. The briefcases and files of people's deputies should at long last contain information on what the maintenance of defense capability is costing the country. This information has been unavailable hitherto. Should this continue, is restructuring going to be taken seriously? I believe the answer is self-evident. Apart from the fact that the new parliament should generally be better informed about affairs of state, it ought to have a group of deputies who are specially briefed in detail and not "committed" to departmental interests—something along the lines of the Armed armed services committees existing, for example, in both chambers of the U.S. Congress, to comprehensively study the administration's budget requests in the military sphere.

In the context of the gradual implementation of reform of the political system, the publication of data on Warsaw Pact and NATO armed forces in Europe is another necessary component. A component which ought to be followed by information on the numerical strength of armed forces in the Asian part of the USSR and, as already mentioned, on the USSR's total defense expenditure.

These are just a few preliminary remarks. But looking at the composition of the published information, a layman who encounters hitherto confidential information for the first time in the pages of the Soviet press would be precipitate in drawing detailed conclusions.

There are numerous questions which could profitably be answered by specialists. The Warsaw Pact has more tanks than NATO, but how many tanks on both sides are to be found along the line of contact and in its immediate vicinity, rather than throughout the territory from the Atlantic to the Urals? NATO's front-line aviation has 1.5 times more strike aircraft (4,075) while, for some unknown reason, we have 36 times more interceptor aircraft in our air defense forces, incapable of operating against ground targets. They have 1.6 times more antitank missile systems (18,070), while we have 1.5 times

more infantry combat vehicles and armored personnel carriers (70,330). The Warsaw Pact has 11.8 times more tactical missile launchers, while NATO has 11.9 times more ships with cruise missiles and 5 times more major surface ships, although we are slightly ahead of them in terms of submarines in waters adjoining Europe.

The numerical strength of Warsaw Pact and NATO armed forces in Europe and the aforementioned waters is approximately the same (3,573,000 against 3,660,000).

In their statement, the Warsaw Pact defense ministers evaluate the military balance in Europe, "taking all its components into account," as "approximate parity." NATO proceeds from the premise that, even when the unilateral reductions announced by the Soviet Union are taken into account, the Warsaw Pact will retain an advantage. It must be explained, however, that NATO refuses to include in the overall balance its naval forces, in which the West enjoys great superiority but which are not included in the agreed terms of reference for the talks among the 23 states. According to their definition, the topic of the talks "is the conventional armed forces of the participants, ...deployed on land." The terms go on to make the blunt provision: "Naval forces and chemical weapons will not be examined." In this context, the Warsaw Pact defense ministers statement also makes a proviso: The data cited is not meant to be used "in full" at the future talks and "is not calculated to replace the subject of the talks," but is meant to promote "realistic discussion and the rejection of attempts to gain unilateral advantages."

It is well known that both sides agreed that the purpose of the forthcoming Vienna talks is to establish a stable and secure balance of conventional armed forces at lower levels. It is to be assumed that, along the path to this goal and given all the current goodwill among the participants, quite a few political lances will yet be broken.

But let me turn back to the defense ministers statement, which marks the beginning of a new chapter in the history of our glasnost. It is up to military and scientific specialists to evaluate the expediency of different levels and compositions of armed forces. It would of course be important to have numerical information about the history of the current state of affairs, about the dynamics of confrontation during the postwar years and decades.

As for me, having now become familiar with the specific data, I would like to express my opinion on another parity—not the military-strategic but the ordinary human parity, the civilian parity. This parity, alas, does not exist. The burden of the arms race, as can easily be determined, places a load on each and every one of us, on every ordinary individual member of our population, that is heavier than the load placed on any American, NATO, or Western individual.

Judge for yourselves. The population of the United States and the other NATO countries stands at more than 600 million, that of the USSR and the other Warsaw Pact states stands at approximately 400 million. The NATO countries' total GNP is approximately four times greater than the Warsaw Pact states' GNP. Given this disposition, and even making sundry justificatory references to the relatively lower cost of our tanks, aircraft, or rocket-propelled salvo fire compared with NATO's, one cannot avoid the inevitable conclusion: The maintenance of military-strategic parity lies heavier on our shoulders than on the shoulders of the West's more prosperous inhabitants.

Another point is that the United States bears a smaller share of expenditure on the total military efforts of NATO in Europe than does the Soviet Union in the corresponding efforts by the Warsaw Pact. We provide over two-thirds of the total numerical strength of the Warsaw Pact Armed Forces, while the United States provides only one-sixth of NATO's, even when naval forces are counted. We provide more than three-fourths of the combat aircraft in our military-political alliance, they provide just over one-fourth in theirs; we provide more than two-thirds of tanks, they provide less than one-fourth; we provide over 70 percent of combat helicopters, the Americans provide two-fifths; we provide 220 out of 228 submarines, they provide 57 out of 200; we provide 101 of the 102 major surface ships in the Warsaw Pact, the Americans provide 173 of the 499 in NATO, and so on.

Of course, it is necessary to offer a very simple and substantial explanation. The Soviet Union is a European (and Asian) power maintaining all its armed forces within national boundaries and adjoining waters, while the United States is a newcomer to Europe; what it has deployed in the old continent are outposts—very powerful, but outposts nevertheless—and not its main forces. Something else is true: In terms of population numbers, economic potential, and world ranking in scientific and technical development the GDR is no FRG, Poland is no France, Czechoslovakia is no Britain, Hungary is no Italy, and Bulgaria is no Canada.

All these are facts of history and of life in which, I believe, our allies will perceive nothing insulting. All these fundamental facts, newly interpreted now by the data on the correlation of NATO and Warsaw Pact armed forces, testify not only to the heavy burden of the present-day military confrontation but also to the importance of the new and decisive efforts by the Soviet leadership to extricate itself from this oppressive dead end.

Our efforts are well known and are meeting with a positive response in the West, even though official NATO circles—which have still not elaborated a new strategy in response to the peace offensive by the USSR and its allies—believe that a certain dose of skepticism would be appropriate. Skepticism, however, finds it

increasingly hard to "make headway" among a broad public inspired by the changes in the Soviet approaches and is demanding that its political leaders take constructive steps in response.

Our choice has been made. It is necessary to switch from costly parity to a more economical, more sensible, and strictly defensive sufficiency which would ensure our country's reliable protection and, at the same time, would in one way or another serve as an example for other states to follow. This choice has been dictated by the lessons and experience of many years, of our life. There is no alternative—if we are thinking, with a proper sense of responsibility, about the people's future and about our historical destiny.

It is time to expand the sphere of application of some important and currently fashionable terms like parity and imbalance. It is time to bring them down to the level of real life, to humanize them. Our opponents in the West and NATO claim that a military imbalance in favor of the USSR and the Warsaw Pact exists in Europe. But as far as individual Soviet citizens are concerned, as far as the quality of their daily life is concerned, this imbalance is quite different and not at all in our favor. Ultimately, this is the imbalance that ought to be eliminated by aiming for the reduction of the level of military confrontation for the sake of raising the people's living standards.

Further on Karpov, Omelichev News Conference

PM0602154589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Feb 89 Second Edition p 3

[Lieutenant Colonel V. Markushin report: "A Step Along the Path to Detente"]

[Text] A news conference for Soviet and foreign journalists on the Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers Committee statement "On the Correlation of Warsaw Pact and North Atlantic Alliance Force Strengths and Armaments in Europe and Adjoining Waters" was held in Moscow on 31 January. Taking part in it were V. Karpov, USSR deputy foreign minister, and Colonel General B. Omelichev, first deputy chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff.

Addressing the journalists, Col Gen B. Omelichev said that in publishing data on the correlation of the numerical strength of Warsaw Pact and NATO armed forces, the Warsaw Pact countries set themselves the goal of showing the true picture of the correlation of armed forces between the two alliances. They moreover proceeded from the premise that the armed forces of an alliance or an individual state constitute a single organism made up of components such as air defense forces, air force, and navy. They constantly interact with each other, augmenting and boosing the overall military potential. This is precisely why a comprehensive approach, embracing all the aforementioned components, would make it possible to evaluate the real correlation of the sides' forces.

Col Gen B. Omelichev emphasized that the Soviet Union and its allies deem it expedient to examine at future talks primarily the problems of eliminating inequalities in arms categories such as strike aircraft, tanks, combat helicopters, large-caliber artillery, multiple rocket launchers, and infantry combat vehicles. These are the arms categories where levels must be reduced so as to impart a purely defensive nature to both alliances' doctrines in the material sphere also.

The participants in the news conference then replied to journalists' questions.

Answering the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent's question of whether the fact that the Warsaw Pact is superior to NATO in most indicators cited in the published data does not contradict statements by USSR spokesmen about approximate parity of forces between the two blocs, Col Gen B. Omelichev said that there can be no question at all about any major unilateral superiority by Warsaw Pact countries. One side's laggardness in one category is compensated by its advantage in another. NATO is twice as strong as the Warsaw Pact in naval strength, and it also enjoys superiority in the number of strike aircraft in tactical and naval aviation, combat helicopters, and antitank missile systems. These inequalities are logical since they are the product of different approaches to the building of armed forces.

Asked by one of the journalists to comment on the calls for further arms upgrading made at the Munich conference of the "Wehrkunde" Military-Scientific Society, USSR Deputy Foreign Minister V. Karpov said that the positive changes occurring in East-West relations are worrying those who do not favor such a development. Attempts are being made to slow down this movement and revert to "cold war" times. It is greatly to be regretted that official representatives, such as U.S. Secretary of Defense J. Tower, join in calls like these. This cannot help ensure continuity in Soviet-U.S. relations. One can only hope that healthy tendencies will nevertheless prevail.

Correction to Omelichev News Conference on Forces

LD0202231589

The following correction pertains to the item subheadlined "Far East Figures 'Soon'" under the headline "Karpov, Omelichev News Conference on Force Figures," published in the 1 February Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pages 1-2: paragraph five, line ten: ...in weapons with the capability of sudden attack. We also feel... (rewording description of weapons)

Pentagon To Develop New Chemical Weapons

LD0702101889 Moscow TASS in English 1010 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] New York February 7 TASS—The U.S. Defence Department intends to add new dangerous types of chemical weapons to U.S. arsenals.

According to the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR newspaper, the Pentagon's 1990 draft budget includes appropriations for the development of potent toxic agents capable of rendering gas masks and other protective equipment useless.

Funds will also be assigned for the development of a special nerve gas for use during urban conflicts.

The U.S. military are only beginning to conduct research in these two directions. Therefore in 1990 it is planned to spend only 7.2 million dollars for these purposes, which is a small amount by Pentagon standards. However, the amount will grow to 27.7 million dollars next year.

The emergence of toxic agents capable of penetrating protective filters will have most serious consequences, according to Gordon Burke, an expert of the Federation of American Scientists.

The development of new types of toxic agents prompts yet another spiral of the chemical arms race and prevents the successful development of talks on a complete ban on these weapons, the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR pointed out.

The newspaper quotes a bewildered congressman's assistant, who asked not to be identified, who says that there is indecision among the U.S. military as to whether they should lead the world to control over chemical weapons or to their proliferation. His bewilderment is understandable.

While the Washington administration is advocating complete abolition of these monstrous weapons of mass destruction, the Pentagon, as THE PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER newspaper pointed out recently, intends to spend about 1.2 billion dollars on various chemical warfare preparation programmes within the next two fiscal years.

U.S. 'Unwilling' To Eliminate Chemical Weapons

PM0602102389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Feb 89 First Edition p 3

[A. Golts "Military-Political Commentary": "Advocates of 'Silent Death'"]

[Text] "Some people think it is abominable to poison people, but killing a person with a little bit of metal is quite permissible. It is difficult for me to understand this." That is how Colonel R. Smith, chief of the U.S. base at Pine Bluff, where chemical munitions are produced, tries to justify the existence of this means of mass annihilation.

It is surprising that such frank comments are being voiced now that the Paris conference on chemical weapons has given the most powerful impetus to coordinated actions within the framework of the world community to entirely eliminate the "silent death."

States belonging to different military alliances and sociopolitical systems are striving to do everything possible to make sure, through specific deeds, that a convention on chemical weapons is concluded as soon as possible. Thus, Czechoslovakia expressed its readiness to participate in a series of experiments suggested by the Soviet Union. A monitoring experiment was conducted at the "Mnisek" plant in order to check the reliability of monitoring civilian production before the convention is concluded. It confirmed the efficiency of the checks.

For his part the Canadian minister of national defense suggested that the USSR send its experts to Canadian scientific centers where means for defense against chemical weapons are being developed. These experts could also be present during the elimination of the 18 tonnes of chemical munitions left over from the 1940's.

The desire does exist to accelerate work on the convention to ban chemical weapons entirely and to eliminate all its stocks. But by no means everyone is demonstrating goodwill. To all appearances, some people in Washington share Col Smith's views. Echoes of this "attachment" to chemical weapons were heard in statements made in Congress by J. Tower, who has been appointed U.S. secretary of defense. Foreign news agencies report that he has indicated the need to modernize the chemical arsenals.

The Pentagon's new leader had in mind precisely the program being directly implemented by Col Smith's subordinates. While the U.S. representative in Paris was talking about U.S. adherence to work banning chemical weapons as soon as possible, the production of a new generation of munitions—binary munitions—is under way day and night at Pine Bluff. "The production of these arms is putting the United States way out ahead on the technological front in creating chemical weapons," THE WASHINGTON POST states.

At the same time I would add that this production is creating new difficulties on the path of banning the "silent death." After all, the possibility offered by binary technology of using various permutations of several components is complicating the monitoring problems—which are very complex anyway—many times over. Especially as over the next decade the U.S. Armed Forces intend to produce 1 million units of binary combat munitions worth a total of $3 billion.

The maintenance of chemical arsenals carries the threat of the possibility that this weapon will proliferate around the planet. A businessman has just been arrested in the United States for attempting to take nerve gas munitions out of the country. It was reported that FBI agents noticed in his office documents testifying that the criminal had extensive ties with employees at U.S. military bases. It is terrible even to imagine into whose hands these barbarous weapons could fall if the activity of one such "businessman" should succeed.

Washington continues to claim that the further production of chemical warfare agents is a means of "putting pressure on the USSR" and so ultimately obtaining a ban on chemical weapons. Staggering logic! In order to eliminate chemical weapons, it seems, you have to produce them. And one more thing: The United States intends to put pressure on a country which not only has stopped producing chemical warfare agents but also intends to start eliminating its stocks, without waiting for a convention to be concluded.

The Americans' none too clever explanations conceal that Washington is unwilling to make the political decision to eliminate chemical weapons. Meanwhile the necessity of this decision is becoming increasingly evident.

Observer on Need for Chemical Weapons Ban
LD0602230789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1545 GMT 6 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow, 6 Feb (TASS)—Vladimir Matyash, TASS political observer, writes:

The next session of the disarmament conference opens in Geneva on 7 February. It will be held in an atmosphere of an improvement in the international political climate, in which deep qualitative changes have occurred in a very short time. The Soviet-U.S. summit meetings were held; the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles came into force; prospects for a 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive weapons are opening up; and realistic conditions are in place for the conclusion of a convention on banning and completely eliminating chemical weapons. It is precisely the talks on banning chemical weapons, which were given a powerful political impetus after the recent Paris conference, that continue to be the main direction in the work of the Geneva forum.

The banning of chemical weapons is one of the cardinal questions of disarmament. The Soviet Union views the speediest possible conclusion of an international convention on the banning and elimination of chemical weapons as one of the priority tasks of its foreign political activity. The initiative—put forward by the USSR at the International Conference on Chemical Weapons held in Paris—to commence eliminating stocks of chemical weapons in our country roused a huge response in the world.

The question of banning chemical weapons was discussed in the course of the U.S.-USSR summit meetings. The joint Soviet-U.S. statement expressed the adherence to the cause of drawing out a verifiable, all-embracing, and effective convention on the banning and destruction of chemical weapons, and reaffirmed the need for more intensive talks for the purpose of concluding a genuinely global and verifiable convention applicable to all states capable of possessing chemical weapons.

The Soviet Union proceeds from the fact that the future convention should effectively ensure a complete and universal ban on the development, production, and stockpiling of chemical weapons in any form, and the elimination of all stocks without exception, and also guarantee that these weapons can never be brought back.

The Soviet Union is a resolute opponent of the proliferation of chemical weapons. The USSR's position on this question is unambiguous: The use of chemical weapons cannot be justified under any circumstance. Moscow favors effective investigation based on the UN form of reports on the use of chemical weapons. In the Soviet side's view, it is necessary as soon as possible—if possible this year—to finalize a convention on a full, global ban of chemical weapons, and to put it into action. Through trust—to security. There is no alternative.

Commentary Views U.S. Strategic Arms Stance
LD0502142689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1130 GMT 5 Feb 89

[Text] It is necessary to utilize the experience accumulated in the last 3 years in Soviet-U.S. relations to speed up talks about reductions in strategic offensive armaments. This is the recommendation put forward in Washington by the influential public organization the Council on Economic Priorities. This independent research group prepared a report entitled "A Treaty on Strategic Offensive Weapons; Whether We Are Ready To Make The Last Step." This report analyzes the course of Soviet-U.S. talks on this type of armaments. Here is a Mayak commentary, presented by Gennadiy Vedenyapin:

[Vedenyapin] Let me start with something that Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze said recently: He stated with regret that the elaboration of the treaty on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons is being stalled by the well-known U.S. position. The United States made a proposal on beginning a joint transfer to the ABM Treaty conditions with greater reliance on defense, that is a joint transfer to deploying armaments in space, instead of strengthening the ABM Treaty, which is the foundation of strategic stability. We hope that the new U.S. Administration will introduce amendments to this position. Otherwise it will be a long time before we see a treaty on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons.

I remind you as well that as a result of Soviet-U.S. accords at the summit level, the United States agreed not to pull out of the ABM Treaty, at least not during the agreed time span, and to comply with it as it was signed in 1972. It remained to translate this political accord into the judicially obliging language. However, in Geneva the U.S. delegation continued interpreting in its own way both the abovementioned accord and the actual ABM Treaty, in such a way that it permits creating and testing the space-launched antiballistic defense systems and components designed as part of the Star Wars program. In a word, it is not fortuitous that the authors of the report consider precisely this Strategic Defense Initiative as the chief danger to the talks on strategic offensive armaments.

Another obstacle to an agreement, no less serious, is the question of limiting sea-based long-range cruise missiles. The United States' naval command intends to equip almost 200 multipurpose nuclear submarines and surface ships in the midnineties. Without rejecting the necessity to restrict these weapons in principle, the United States claims that this problem cannot be resolved because of the absence of an effective verification system. In the meantime, according to the admission of authoritative experts, the system that is already successfully operating for monitoring the fulfillment of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles can become a good foundation for developing a universal mechanism of monitoring future similar agreements. In the long run, the authors of the reports prepared by the Council of Economic Priorities stressed there is also another way out. If we indeed talk about the unprecedented difficulty of inspection, surely it is necessary to opt for banning this type of armaments. The fact that they need to be inspected—and there is a certain logic here—means that they must be banned. In addition, according to the opinion of the authors of the document, the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles must envisage banning tests of new weapons.

There is no doubt that all the positive and sensible recommendations contained in this report will be supported and understood by the overwhelming majority of Americans. After all, as a recent public opinion poll showed, 82 percent of U.S. citizens believe the arms race is useless and harmful to the country's economy.

Obstacles to March Vienna Talks Viewed

LD0502214789 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in English 2200 GMT 4 Feb 89

[Text] Next in our program is a commentary contributed by a Soviet politologist, Vladlen Kuznetsov. Here is what he writes.

In March in Vienna there is going to be a double start: talks on European disarmament from the Atlantic Ocean to the Ural Mountains and negotiations on deepening measures of building up trust and confidence and security. Everything looks like the forthcoming debates will be complicated, labor-consuming, just like an obstacle race. However, we would like to see that race not to turn into a marathon for we had enough of the inglorious, 15-year-long talkathon that resulted in nothing—the talks concerning a mutual reduction of troops and armaments in central Europe. We had enough of empty disputes as to who is ahead and who has how many armaments more than the other. The data concerning the military balance in Europe published by the Warsaw Treaty Organization will, as we assume, help to create a clearer picture. That is why it is important ahead of time to visualize and clear the route that is to be covered by the racers and to take away the unnecessary obstacles.

The socialist countries have already undertaken such an attempt. The USSR, the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, and Bulgaria have announced a unilateral reduction of their armed forces and military budgets, and earlier this was also done by Romania. Therefore, all the participants in the Warsaw Treaty have undertaken, on the threshold of the Vienna negotiations, a coordinate collective action which is a real concrete contribution to removing the existing disbalance and asymmetries in the correlation of armed forces of the two military-political alliances, to remove all the elements of the offensive nature of the Soviet group in Eastern Europe.

The socialist countries have made the Vienna starts easier. This, to one degree or another, is admitted also in NATO. One would like to think, however, that NATO would not limit itself to a simple acceptance of the information concerning the unilateral steps taken by their counterparts in the East. Elementary logic indicates that if one side voluntarily gives up its surpluses, then it will be justified to expect that the other side would reciprocate. In the meantime, the leading spheres of NATO are not even prone to admitting that they have surpluses, in particular such an obvious supremacy as strike tactical air force and the armaments of the navy. How is NATO responding these days to the socialist initiatives? The Federal German chancellor categorically denies the very possibility of reducing the numerity [as heard] of the Bundeswehr, in which the tour of duty has been extended just now.

Also not in the spirit of the times are the intentions of several participants of the Atlantic alliance to carry out a second armament program instead of a third zero solution. If in the West they admit the dynamism and constructiveness of the Warsaw Treaty stand, then the NATO den has immediately taken two times out for thinking things over. The new President of the United States has decided to reanalyze the strategy of the talks on disarmament and in general East-West relations. Therefore there is no confidence that the Soviet-American negotiatons in Geneva on the reduction of strategic

armaments by 50 percent will be resumed by mid-February, as was arranged earlier. NATO is still continuing to elaborate a common concept on issues of security and disarmament. Thinking over the line of behavior and working out a general concept and coordinating points of view—hardly anyone can object to that. However, time does not wait. It is stepping on our heels. The East and the West, the USSR and the United States needed only 4 years in order to turn their relations towards the better. So in the future one should not expect the building of relations to be more difficult. No wonder they say a good start is half the race.

Also we must not forget that the rate of negotiations on disarmament is slower than the rate of development and perfection of military equipment. If those supporting disarmament are marking time, those supporting armaments are wasting no time indeed.

They have no time off for thinking things over and now the NATO countries are forging ahead with the prdouction of a so-called sophisticated weapon, with the help of which the West expects to gain military superiority. The strategists of armaments are not measuring their activities in terms of decades. They are measuring their activities in terms of years, months and weeks. They are placing their stakes on a spurt in order to achieve military superiority and to achieve this in the shortest possible period. In these conditions it is absolutely impermissible to waste time and to resort to red tape. It is necessary to lower the level of nuclear confrontation, to ensure a turnabout from superarmaments to sensible defense efficiency, to develop peaceful cooperation between the East and West.

INF Treaty Implementation Continues

PM0702110189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Feb 89 First Edition p 5

[P. Krymov article: "Implementation of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles Is Taking Place in an Atmosphere of Trust and Efficiency"]

[Text] The Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles has been in operation for more than 6 months. The heightened interest of the public of the USSR, the United States, and other countries in the progress of its implementation is understandable. It is a question of the first agreement in history providing for the complete elimination of two classes of nuclear missile weapons. It is a question of an agreement which will be followed—most people on earth hope—by new accords leading to a nuclear-free world.

The Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles is unique in content—in the nature and range of the commitments assumed by its participants. It is also unique because of its "mechanism" for fulfilling these commitments. It provides not only for the full elimination of both sides' intermediate- and shorter-range nuclear missile systems, but also for a ban on the production and testing of these systems.

Moreover, particular attention is being given to the verification system, which is equally unique. For the first time, in addition to measures designed to assist the utilization of national technical means of verification, that is surveillance systems assisted by space satellites, different forms of on-site inspection activities have been formulated very carefully in a document based on international law. They provide for verification measures using visual observation and, when necessary, the appropriate apparatus. Not only missile operating bases for intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, but also their support facilities—training, elimination, repair, and storage facilities, test ranges, and others—are verified by inspectors.

Today it can firmly be concluded that the "mechanism" of the treaty is working, and working efficiently. At the end of January this year 245 intermediate-range missiles and 137 launchers for these missiles and 360 shorter-range missiles and 115 of their launchers had been eliminated by the Soviet Union. By this time 111 intermediate-range missiles and 22 launchers for these missiles and 88 shorter-range missiles and 1 shorter-range missile launcher had been eliminated in the United States. An exchange of figures, information, and reports has been set up between the two countries' Nuclear Risk Reduction Centers on a regular basis. Short-notice inspections are being conducted that are ensuring that the elimination process is verified; continuous inspections have also been organized at missile plants in Votkinsk (Udmurt ASSR) and Magna (Utah).

The Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, which includes the memorandum of understanding on initial data and protocols on elimination and inspections, contains a large number of provisions and is quite a complex document. That is why a Soviet-U.S. Special Verification Commission has been set up and is working to facilitate its implementation. It is called upon to resolve arguments relating to the fulfillment of the commitments assumed and to agree on measures to boost the treaty's viability and effectiveness.

It has become known from authoritative sources that the Special Verification Commission has elaborated a number of accords on the application of the clauses on verification contained in the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. They are already being implemented, particularly within the framework of inspection activities. The Soviet side proceeds from the premise that it is essential, in the commission and through diplomatic channels, to resolve potential unclear situations and to remove the sides' emerging worries in the commission and also via diplomatic channels. It is, of course, acting accordingly. It is no accident that the U.S. President's report to Congress on 2 December 1988 notes that such concerns on the U.S. side have been

resolved to its satisfaction or are in the process of being resolved. According to existing information, all such concerns have now been removed.

Concerns are also emerging on the Soviet side. The following examples can be named among those being examined by the U.S. side: The discrepancy between the number of declared Pershing 1-A missiles located in the United States and belonging to the FRG and the number of these missiles noted by Soviet inspectors when monitoring initial data; reports on the U.S. side's intention to utilize sections of its ground-launched cruise missiles liable to elimination to produce sea-launched cruise missiles; or information on the appearance of systems covered by the agreement at the MacGregor Range (New Mexico) not declared in the treaty.

Recently the U.S. press, particularly THE WASHINGTON TIMES and THE WASHINGTON POST, have been publishing articles covering in a blatantly biased spirit the progress in fulfilling the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-and Shorter-Range Missiles as regards continuous inspections. On this score it should be noted that, according to information received, certain questions of inspection at Magna and Votkinsk which remain unresolved are at the discussion stage. Relevant proposals on them have been submitted by the Soviet side and it is now up to the Americans to deal with the matter. It is expected that these problems will be resolved in the near future at the coming Special Verification Commission session, which the Soviet side wants to see convened as soon as possible.

The Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles is now in force. This is not only a legal formulation, but an everyday reality.

Shevardnadze's Foreign Tour Reviewed

LD0702130289 Moscow World Service in English 0410 GMT 7 Feb 89

[From the "Review of International Developments" program with Yuriy Reshetnikov]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] As you have heard in the news, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze has returned to Moscow from Islamabad after a series of extensive talks on the future of Afghanistan. The Soviet minister said on Monday that his talks with Pakistani officials had produced a high degree of accord on a political settlement of the war in Afghanistan. Let's hear more on the situation in and around Afghanistan. What are some of the Soviet predictions as to what is going to happen in Afghanistan when Soviet troops are out of that country?

[Reshetnikov] Well, most of the troops have left Kabul over the weekend, and only a few hundred Soviet soldiers remain in the Afghan capital—mainly guarding the airport and the Soviet diplomatic compound. By 15 February—the UN-mandated deadline for the withdrawal of Soviet troops—no Soviet soldiers will remain. During the visit by Eduard Shevardnadze to Islamabad, (?and) a parallel visit by is top lieutenant Yuliy Vorontsov to Tehran, the Soviet diplomats made every effort to facilitate a negotiated settlement between the government in Kabul and the opposition groups based in Pakistan and Iran; but those groups have not adopted a constructive attitude on the matter.

[Announcer] This is of course not something that the Soviet Union hoped for in the (?swirl) of diplomatic activity after the signing of the Geneva accords last April. Is there no way then to avert a bloodbath when the Soviet troops are gone?

[Reshetnikov] Well, unfortunately this is precisely the scenario that most observers have been predicting. Both sides to the conflict possess significant fire and manpower. But both sides also have (?enthroned) divisions and factions. The presence of Soviet troops up to now has had a restraining influence on the fighting. Up to now the opposition groups have preferred hit-and-run attacks on government outposts and individual military units, and they have yet to show their prowess in dealing with government troops in the battlefield.

[Announcer] Meanwhile, speaking on Sunday before a rally of their supporters in Kabul, President Najibullah said the ruling People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan was not unduly worried about the future because the party membrane had a lot of force. We will fight the opposition to our last breath, he said. That seems to reveal the Afghan Government's determination to fight back for its cause. But is it not possible to enlist the services of the United Nations to prevent further bloodshed?

[Reshetnikov] Well, there is now a token unit of UN observers in Afghanistan, but obviously there is little they can do to pevent further bloodshed. The United Nations role is certainly shifting towards alleviating the lot of Afghan civilians, who are likely to be drawn into the crossfire of the continuing conflict. Afghan Prime Minister Hasan Sharq has sent an urgent appeal to the United Nations for help in preventing a disaster in Kabul. In a letter to Secretary General Perez de Cuellar, Mr Sharq asked the United Nations to take immediate measures to facilitate the transportation and distribution of food to the capital to avoid the terrible disaster which threatens the innocent Afghans who are suffering from the war, he said. Meanwhile the United Nations is reported to be making efforts to set up an air link to supply the residents of Kabul with food. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Before going to Islamabad, Eduard Shevardnadze earlier last week made a highly successful trip to China, where he held talks with top officials in that country. What are the chief results of this visit to China?

[Reshetnikov] Well, one result of the visit is that after months of speculation, (?it was) finally announced that a Soviet-Chinese summit would take place this spring. Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev will fly to China in mid-May for a summit meeting that's expected will completely normalize the relations between the two countries. Eduard Shevardnadze quoted Cinese leader Deng Xiaoping as saying that the main objective of the meeting will be to close the page on the past and open up the chapter on the future. He said (?this vivid) thought expressed by China's senior leader also expresses what the Soviet leadership would like to do. Speaking shortly after meeting Deng Xiaoping in Shanghai, Eduard Shevardnadze stressed that the normalization of relations between both governments and their Communist Parties would not threaten other countries.

[Announcer] Apart from the situation in Afghanistan and Kampuchea, a good part of Eduard Shevardnadze's agenda was taken up by questions of military security. In the past there was a great deal of tension on the Soviet-Chinese border, where considerable military contingents confronted each other for 2 decades. Was there much progress made in matters of security?

[Reshetnikov] Eduard Shevardnadze repeated an earlier Soviet announcement that 200,000 troops would be withdrawn from the eastern sector over the next 2 years. The Soviet Union also pledged to pull out 75 percent of its troops from Mongolia, its major ally in the area. Shevardnadze acknowledged that China too was unilaterally reducing its armed forces. Over the past 3 years China cut them by 1 million men. He said that China and the Soviet Union could reduce the scale and number of military exercises and guarantee not to increase troop levels in certain regions. It's good that our two countries are not afraid of unilateral steps, Shevardnadze said. But there is a certain limit to such steps.

'Roundtable' on Pact Statement, Afghanistan

LD0502194189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1230 GMT 5 Feb 89

["International Observers Roundtable" with Nikolay Agayants, moderator; Vadim Kassis, editor in chief of GOLOS RODINY and OTCHIZNA; and Yuriy Kornilov, TASS political observer]

[Text] [Agayants] Hello, esteemed comrade radio listeners! I am pleased to introduce those taking part in our discussion today: They are Vadim Borisovich Kassis, editor in chief of GOLOS RODINY and the OTCHIZNA magazine, and Yuriy Emmanuilovich Kornilov, TASS political observer. Both are well-known Soviet publicists and the authors of many books popular both in the Soviet Union and overseas. In order not to spread ourselves too thin, we have decided to focus in our review of the past week on the three most important topics, in our opinion: the tasks of consolidating European security in light of the statement published by the Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers Committee on the relative strengths of the armed forces and armaments of the Warsaw Pact and NATO in Europe and the adjacent seas; the visit to China by Comrade Shevardnadze, USSR foreign minister; and finally, the situation that has arisen in Afghanistan in connection with the final stage of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from that country. The problems I have listed are as complicated as they are important: A lot of knots have to be untied and remaining obstacles removed in order to achieve success. But let us deal with everything in its turn.

[Kassis] I would observe right off, Nikolay Ivanovich, that the statement by the Defense Ministers Committee has evoked the widest international response. I have just returned from a visit to Finland and the newspapers there—reflecting the widest variety of trends and party affiliations—and radio and television programs have been assessing it as another positive influence on international affairs by the new political thinking and as the consolidation of the trend toward greater confidence and genuine cooperation in the all-European process.

[Kornilov] That is natural. The question of trust is important in relations between any countries, but of course it acquires special significance in Europe because in this century our continent has suffered from wars and conflicts more than any other region. The fact that the old world is saturated with weapons and that two powerful military blocs are confronting each other place on the agenda with enormous sharpness the question of military and political detente and of turning all of Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals, into a zone of peace. Traditionally bourgeois propaganda has depicted—and indeed it sometimes tries to do so today—the Soviet Union as a threat to Western Europe. All manner of vivid descriptions of our tank units—supposedly ready to make a dash to the channel without delay—born at the dawn of the cold war, continue to be used as an excuse for strengthening the so-called collective defense of the North Atlantic alliance.

[Agayants] Yes, yes, that is all true. It is for this very reason that, having stressed the exceptional importance of the USSR' unilateral step to reduce its armed forces and armaments—including those in Europe—for the cause of strengthening peace, security, and confidence...

[Kassis, interrupting] Steps that were announced by Comrade Gorbachev at the United Nations on 7 December last year.

[Agayants] Yes. Having stressed this and being guided by the decisions of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee made in Budapest in 1986, in Berlin in 1987, and in Warsaw in 1988 and proceeding from the defensive character of our military doctrine, the committee declared that the main issues at this time are preventing war, ending the race in nuclear and conventional armaments, and beginning consistent disarmament.

[Kassis] It seems to me that here it is essential to stress that besides the purely declarative point, the specific measures mapped out by the committee were and remain extremely important in the statement. This, in fact, is what gave rise to such great interest in the published document on the part of the world public.

[Kornilov] Absolutely, Vadim Borisovich. For example, the statement says directly that the armed forces of the Warsaw Pact and NATO in Europe must be such that neither of these alliances—while reliably providing for their own defense—should have the means for carrying out a sudden attack against the other side or for unleashing any offensive operations at all. Those taking part in the forthcoming talks on reducing armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe must strive to achieve precisely that objective.

[Agayants] It cannot be denied, Yuriy Emmanuilovich, that extremely favorable prospects are shaping up. Yes, we have been and are in favor of movement at international forums toward the achievement of accords on the reciprocal elimination of remaining asymmetries and imbalances both on the all-European scale and in individual regions of the globe; toward substantial reductions in armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe; and toward the development and expansion of already existing confidence-building measures. But it would appear that in the West they are either not yet ready for such serious talks or they are deliberately avoiding the cardinal resolution of all these problems that have built up. Here they plunge into dissipation, distorting the essense of our proposals and the true picture of the balance of forces between NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

[Kornilov] It is perfectly clear, however, that the military balance in Europe, taking into account all its component parts, can be described as one of approximate parity, which does not give either side the ability to count on any decisive military superiority.

[Kassis] This is, moreover, confirmed convincingly by figures in the published document we are talking about, by the tables giving the relative strengths of the armed forces and the main types of armaments belonging to both blocs.

[Kornilov] Of course. But at the same time it is essential to radically lower the current, high-level concentration of armed forces and armaments on the continent, with a view to ensuring stability conforming to the principle of reasonable defense sufficiency.

[Agayants] The armed forces of any state or military alliance are a single organism. Its component parts include land troops, air forces, antiaircraft defense forces, naval forces, and organs of control. All of them interact with each other and complement one another. Only an all-embracing analysis of them makes it possible to assess correctly the real balance of forces between the sides. So proceeding from the tables of figures given in the press when the statement of the Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers Committee was published, it becomes obvious that given an approximate equality of numbers in land forces and air forces, NATO has a twofold superiority over our alliance as regards the number of men serving in the navies, as regards the number of strike aircraft in the front line or tactical air force, and of combat helicopters and antitank missile sets. The Warsaw Pact, however, has a superiority in tanks, in tactical missile launchers, in antiaircraft interceptor aircraft, in armored personnel carriers's and infantry combat vehicles and in artillery.

[Kassis] Where naval forces are concerned, NATO has a considerable superiority over the Warsaw Pact in naval combat aircraft, in the number of its major surface ships, including aircraft carriers and ships equipped with cruise missiles.

[Kornilov] Well, at the same time the Warsaw Pact member-states have some advantages in submarines with missile and torpedo armaments, for example. But all these figures are certainly not intended to be used in full measure as the parameters of a starting point at future talks. The statement by the Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers Committee says that unambiguously and precisely.

[Agayants] That is clear, Yuriy Emmanuilovich, although I think the overall approach to assessing the military forces in Europe that has been followed in the statement ultimately pursues a definite aim: that of focusing the attention of the public and of specialists on the need to endow future talks with a realistic character from the very outset, and to reject categorically any attempts to achieve unilateral advantages.

[Kassis] Furthermore, Nikolay Ivanovich, no matter what quantitative measurements the Western experts have attributed to the Soviet Union's decision of 7 December last year, most of them agree that the unilateral initiative of the Land of the Soviets is capable of imparting a powerful qualitative push to the upcoming talks on armed forces and conventional armaments.

[Kornilov] It is not for nothing that in Western Europe today one hears ever more loudly the voices of those sensible people who—such as Antoine Sanguinetti, the retired French admiral who has published an article in LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE—call on the Atlantic politicians to renounce the routine sterotypes of the past and to think about the changes taking place in the world under the influence of our restructuring and the new political thinking.

[Agayants] The Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers Committee expressed the hope in its statement that the North Atlantic bloc countries will demonstrate their readiness to advance as quickly as possible along the road of strengthening stability in Europe, including using unilateral measures to reduce their armed forces and armaments. So it is now up to the West, or more precisely it is up to NATO.

[Kornilov] Well, Nikolay Ivanovich, I think it is now time that we went on to the second topic we announced to our listeners.

[Agayants] Certainly.

[Kornilov] I went to China recently on a journalist assignment. I covered many thousands of miles on that country's roads. I had many interesting meetings. Turning over the pages of my journalist's notebook now, I would like to quote something that was said by Gun Guanxi, an old peasant whom I happened to meet in China's grain-producing region, the province of Sichuan. Our countries are neighbors, and for that very reason they must live in friendship, he told me. He had spent his entire long life in the rural depths of China. He was far removed from political problems, but the simple and important thought he expressed could, I feel, have been repeated in full and in the self-same words by any political figure, whether in Beijing or in our country in Moscow, and he would have every reason for doing so. That thought has a particularly topical note to it today, when the line toward the development of a fruitful dialogue and mutually advantageous cooperation is becoming more and more clearly characteristic of mutual relations between the two great neighboring socialist powers. Further convincing confirmation of this is the visit to China by Foreign Affairs Minister Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze.

[Agayants] I think that here we should recall that this was the first official visit to Beijing by a Soviet foreign minister in the entire history of Soviet-Chinese relations, and for this reason indeed it has attracted enormous attention both among the Soviet and the international public. Of course the commentaries that are being written about it in different countries are not all the same: Their tone and the line they take depend to a large extent on whose interests are being expressed by the particular mass information organ concerned and on which circles are backing it. But if one picks out the principal thing in the reactions coming in, I think one has to say that the present Soviet-Chinese dialogue—which, as the French HUMANITE writes, passed in an atmosphere of optimism—has been evaluated everywhere as an important international event and as convincing evidence of the desire and resolve of the two great socialist powers to achieve a new and much higher level of political relations.

[Kassis] Many observers note in particular the fact that the full-scale Soviet-Chinese dialogue of course ought to be viewed not just within the context of bilateral relations but within other, international, parameters. The Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China are major world powers, permanent members of the UN Security Council. In these capacities they are equally responsible for the solution of many important international problems.

[Kornilov] That is indeed so, Vadim Borisovich. But in order to fully reveal the powerful potential of good relations between our countries and to promote the complete normalization of these relations, it is essential that the two states' top leaders meet. Indeed, preparations for such a meeting, which as we now know will take place during the first half of this year, were the focus of attention of those taking part in the current Soviet-Chinese talks. Preparations for the meeting, and this meeting will undoubtedly be one of the most important—I would even say the most important political event of the year—are being made. This was stressed particularly by Foreign Affairs Minister Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze in an interview for our agency—from the standpoint of achieving the greatest practical result and a high degree of effectiveness. Of course this concerns the elaboration, too, of the principles upon which Soviet-Chinese relations are and will be based in many respects, whether it be the transformation of our state borders into an area of peace, friendship, and good-neighborliness, the reduction of military confrontation, or cooperation in the settlement of regional conflicts.

[Agayants] It is a question of establishing in our relations such fundamental principles as mutual respect for each other's independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity; equality of rights; nonintervention in internal affairs; and respect for each other's interests, views, experience, and practices. Clearly these principles can be realized only in practice, on the condition that there is equal purposefulness of efforts.

[Kassis] The improvement in Soviet-Chinese relations is an integral component of the general improvement in the international climate, the strengthening of security, and the expansion and extension of cooperation between all states in solving mankind's global problems. In this aspect, I think, the importance and fruitful nature of the Soviet-Chinese dialogue on such important current problems as measures confidence-building and military detente in the Asia-Pacific region and the lowering of military confrontation along the Soviet-Chinese border should be particularly noted. In Moscow we note with satisfaction that our positions on issues of disarmament, the elimination of mass-destruction weapons, and the protection of peaceful space from militarization are identical or close.

[Agayants] But if we remain realistic, we can hardly say that the Soviet and Chinese positions and points of view are currently identical on every international problem without exception. But what is important and noteworthy is something else. What is important and noteworthy is that the tendency of our time is of course not the existence of differing approaches by the two countries to this or that question which concerns them, but the mutual desire and striving to search for and find points of agreement through dialogue, at a negotiating table. Obviously such a search is not always a simple process, but reality—the course of events themselves—shows we should, gradually and step by step, work out mutually acceptable solutions.

[Kornilov] That's right, Nikolay Ivanovich. And one obvious confirmation of this is the discussion of such an urgent problem as the settlement around Cambodia. Is that a complicated question? Of course. But during the dialogue we have already managed to noticeably expand areas of mutual understanding. Even China's Foreign Affairs Minister Qian Qichen, speaking on 2 February in Beijing, emphasized that on the Cambodian problem our field of mutual understanding had expanded and the points of contact had increased.

[Agayants] I think the political background to the current Soviet-Chinese negotiations is also important and characteristic. In the incipient process of a general improvement in the international atmosphere and the growing attraction of the ideas of new political thinking, the majority of the world's states are making greater efforts to participate more actively in international affairs. The course and results of the Soviet-Chinese dialogue will undoubtedly follow the path of the people's general striving to strengthen peace and security, and they will serve as a new, powerful stimulus for reinforcing these positive tendencies.

[Kassis] Moreover, Nikolay Ivanovich, look at the wide range of cooperation and mutually beneficial exchange of experience being unveiled before our socialist countries today by the powerful processes of renewal they are undergoing. The Soviet-Chinese Commission for Economic, Trade, and Scientific and Technical Cooperation has been working for barely more than 3 years, but already today we note with satisfaction a stable increase in goods exchange and an equal expansion in scientific and technical relations, as well as stimulation of cooperation in the field of education.

[Kornilov] Here, Vadim Borisovich, is another thing that I think should be emphasized. For us, the Soviet people, the reforms of the economic mechanism and the political system being implemented in the PRC are of great—I'd even say special—interest, while the Chinese public follows the progress of our restructuring with no less attention. While in China I repeatedly heard from my interlocutors about the importance of learning from each other about the most valuable things born out of the practice and experience of the reforms.

[Agayants] All in all, I think that in summing up everything we have said there is every reason to note that the period of estrangement between Moscow and Beijing belongs in the past; there is ever more benovelence and trust in relations between the two neighboring peoples, our country and China.

I am convinced that the Soviet-Chinese summit meeting will open a new chapter in the history of the neighboring countries. That was what Comrade Shevardnadze declared as he stepped on Chinese soil. It is true. But I would also add that the Soviet-Chinese summit meeting and full normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations is an event of such a scale, of such significance and importance that it is undoubtedly going to have the most serious positive significance for the situation in the entire Asia-Pacific region and throughout the world.

[Kassis] Only days remain before the complete withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan as envisaged by the Geneva agreements. This was declared last week by the Republic's President Najibullah; it was also discussed at a briefing on 1 February at the Soviet Union's Foreign Affairs Ministry Press Center. I would also like to recall a statement made at a news conference in Kabul by the general officer commanding the limited contingent of Soviet forces in Afghanistan, Lieutenant General Gromov. He emphasized that the Soviet and Afghan sides have scrupulously observed every provision of the Geneva accord package while Pakistan and the United States, who are guarantors of the agreements, have violated them openly and flagrantly.

[Kornilov] Let us go further. The United States is also putting out propaganda. For example, a few days ago a State Department representative went so far as to accuse the Soviet Union of pursuing scorched earth tactics in Afghanistan. I would describe that statement as irresponsible. What in fact did happen? Replying to journalists' questions, Lieutenant General Gromov explained that the strike recently delivered by the Afghan Army, with support from Soviet units, against the armed formations of Ahmad Shah Mas'ud which were trying to cut off the Hayratan-Kabul highway south of Salang and thus doom a city of 2 million people to starvation, was launched with the sole purpose of ensuring normal supplies of everything necessary for the capital and its inhabitants.

[Agayants] But now, as is known, the Afghan Army is in full control of the situation to the south of Salang and is ready to oppose attempts by the armed opposition to cut off the lifeline road. As for Ahmad Shah Mas'ud himself, he is trying to put a brave face on the sorry business by alleging that he had never intended to leave Kabul without foodstuffs.

[Kassis] The armed opposition continues to amass weapons and ammunition inside and around the most important strategic center of the country, threatening to seize them after the Soviet troop withdrawal has been completed. The opposition also continues its policy of blockading major economic and administrative centers and destabilizing the situation in them through terrorist actions.

[Kornilov] The situation is difficult, of course, but it is typical that people very often come to the help of the Army. Thus as the result of information from the local population, the security forces in Qandahar discovered at one factory ammunition hidden in boxes for soap. Hidden in a similar way were 100,000 rounds for small arms. In one of the regions of Nangahar Province, workers in the people's militia seized a store belonging to the rebels which contained 700 mines for various purposes.

[Agayants] According to reports from BAKHTAR news agency, subunits of the government's troops have conducted a number of successful operations in the region of the Salang pass, during which the enemy lost 128 men, including 2 Pakistani and 1 Arab advisers. Afghan soldiers are successfuly repulsing atacks by the rebels in Qandahar Province. About 30 fighters from a detachment of the Islasmic Party of Afghanistan were destroyed there. Fierce fighting between opposition formations of different political persuasions is continuing in a Herat suburb and in Parvan Province.

[Kassis] But one ought to say that not all the operations being carried out by the Afghan Armed Forces to lift the blockades on roads and populated areas are proceeding successfully. In Baghlan Province, for example, militia and Army detachments conducted a joint operation aimed at dislodging the rebels from the road between old and new Baghlan, but, as has become known, the operation was not successful. The regular troops incurred losses in personnel and hardware.

[Kornilov] In summarizing all the facts in Afghanistan and around it I think it is very important to note, Vadim Borisovich, that it is precisely the Soviet Union and Afghanistan that, despite all the complexities of the situation, are fulfilling consistently and rigorously the obligations that result from the Geneva agreements. Our country continues to devote heightened attention to the problem of an Afghan settlement, and this is borne out by the trips by eminent Soviet representatives to Islamabad and Kabul. The Soviet Union is prepared to continue contacts with the mujahidin both in Islamabad and Tehran. The proposal advanced by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev at the 43d UN General Assembly session, to halt arms supplies to all the warring sides from 1 January 1989 has been an important element in our approach to a settlement in this country. We remain ready for this.

[Agayants] As is known, Moscow has called on the new U.S. Administration to examine this issue seriously in light of the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan. We are also drawing Pakistan's attention to the fact that the Islamabad authorities have not impeded interference in intra-Afghan affairs from their territory. At any rate we do not have at our disposal facts showing that Pakistan has done something, at least, to fulfill the commitments it has taken on.

[Kassis] You are quite right, Nikolay Ivanovich. The bases for training fighters that existed in Pakistan before Geneva remain to this very day. It is from these very camps that the extremists are being transferred across the border onto Afgan soil. The armed opposition headquarters are in the same places in Pakistan as before. Subunits of the Pakistan Armed Forces work hand-in-hand with the rebels. Weapons continue to flow from the Pakistan side to the strong points of the opposition, the very same weapons that the rebels are turning on their own brothers and with which they are depriving the country's population of foodstuffs and petroleum products. All these actions do not increase the prestige of the new authorities in Islamabad in the eyes of the world community.

[Kornilov] I shall add that some of the mass media both in Pakistan and indeed particularly in the West are continuing to fuel a propaganda furor by alleging that Soviet troops are laying mines, including booby traps, on Afghan territory. In actual fact—and this has already been reported—minefields next to industrial and military installations that were once laid by Soviet sappers have already been handed over to the Afghan side together with the appropriate documentation that will assist in rendering these areas harmless, as is required. Our soldiers have completely cleared many minefields in regions that Soviet troops have long since left. There is no need whatsoever to leave new mines, regardless of where. That is a fact.

[Agayants] What is also commanding attention is the growing hullabaloo about the departure from Kabul of staff from the embassies of a number of Western countries—primarily the United States. The concern about a threat to the safety of the staff, due to the developing situation in the Republic, as grounds for the decision to evacuate is being exaggerated from all angles. However, elementary logic can hardly be found in the debates on this subject. If one takes into account the claim that the present regime in Kabul will fall when the Soviet troops leave, it would seem that there should be no grounds for the friends of the Peshawar leaders to be afraid.

[Kornilov] So how can one explain nonetheless the hasty decision to evacuate people from certain Western embassies in Kabul? I think there is one reason, and that is to provoke an atmosphere of mistrust toward the legitimate government of the Republic and incite the extremists to new acts of violence and terror.

[Kassis] In conclusion, it remains for me to add to what has been said on the statement made last week by UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar. He called for peace to be given a chance in Afghanistan and stressed that the Afghan people now face the major task of achieving an all-embracing, political settlement and the beginning of a reconstruction and restoration of the country that has been destroyed during a protracted and tragic war. The secretary general called on all Afghans to rise to this historic task and resolve the differences between them by peaceful means, through a dialogue between Afghans aimed at setting up a government on a broad basis.

[Agayants] We have come to the end of our allotted time. All our program's participants thank you, comrades, for your attention. All the best to you.

Zagladin Addresses Meeting on Environment

LD3101161489 Moscow TASS in English 1545 GMT 31 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 31 TASS—The threat of a global ecological catastrophe, which hangs over mankind, calls for undelayed steps to be taken by all world community members to prevent further environmental pollution. This is the unanimous opinion of the participants in the first meeting of parliamentarians of the USSR, Denmark, Canada, Iceland, Norway, Finland and Sweden on Arctic ecology problems, which opened here today.

"Civilisation is facing an alternative: Either mankind will be able to stop the senseless squandering of natural wealth, or the negative consequences of the man-nature conflict will call in question the very existence of life on earth", said Vadim Zagladin, secretary of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Council of the Union, adviser to the president of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Presidium. Unfortunately, the ecological situation continues deteriorating in the Soviet Union and many other countries. To have ecological problems solved, all the states should exert joint efforts, primarily in designing ecologically clean waste-free technologies and exchanging nature conservation experience, said Vadim Zagladin.

Mikhail Gorbachev's Murmansk October 1, 1987 proposals for cooperation between North European countries in environmental protection have been favourably appraised in norway, said Kjell Magne Bondevik, member of the Foreign Policy Committee of Norway's Storting, chairman of the Christian People's Party. "It is necessary to elaborate a new international security concept that would go beyond narrow limits of military security problems and include ecological security and inter-dependence and envisage broad environmental protection measures", he said.

The meeting appears timely and important, said Pauline Browes, member of the Canadian Parliament's House of Commons from the Conservative Party. Parliamentarians from northern countries can become the moving force of the joint process of preservation of the Arctic region and the adjacent areas.

Deputy of Finnish parliament Riita-Jarvisalo Kanerva dwelt on her government's proposal that a scientific conference be held in Helsinki, involving representatives of North European countries and also Canada, the United States and the USSR, to study the Arctic ecological system.

Deputy of Iceland's parliament from the Party of Progress Valderdir Sverrisdottir has proposed that a special mechanism be formed for urgent notification about industrial accidents that could have serious consequence for the ecological situation in the region.

The meeting is to continue tomorrow.

UN Human Rights Commission Session Assessed

LD0302193289 Moscow TASS in English 1854 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] Geneva February 3 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vladislav Shishlo:

The 45th session of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights is concluding its first week in the Geneva Palace of Nations. The commission is considering topical problems of the state of things in the humanitarian area in the world. The first item on the agenda—the violation of human rights in occupied Arab territories, including Palestine—has already been discussed. Israel's policy of "iron fist", wholesale terror and reprisals against Palestinians have been condemned.

The participants in the session now started considering the question of peoples' right to self-determination and its use with regard to peoples that are under colonial or foreign rule or foreign occupation.

In an interview to a TASS correspondent, Soviet representative Feliks Stanevskiy said that the initial result of the session is that it started working in a constructive way. He said that this is, naturally, the consequence of scopeful world processes and the overall atmosphere in the world. It is important that this tendency persists and that it results in coordinated practical decisions of the Commission on Human Rights. The quest for compromise on acute problems has been made from the first days. This quest is not easy for too much distrust has accumulated in the area of human rights. The impact of propaganda services in this aspect is too large.

There are signs now of the growing mutual understanding among the countries participating in the session about what is included in the area of human rights, the USSR representative went on. There is a marked rapprochement in the views on the role of the United Nations mechanisms in the humanitarian area, on the importance of the controlling mechanisms of the United Nations Organisation in the observance of the organisation of the protection of human rights and liberties.

The session is to make decisions regarding a number of areas where human rights were violated for long—the occupied Arab territories, the south of Africa, other regions, Stanevskiy said. Of importance will be a debate about the participation of countries in the international covenants on human rights and the observance of international obligations assumed.

France's Rocard Addresses Session

LD0602215389 Moscow TASS in English 2101 GMT 6 Feb 89

[Text] Geneva February 6 TASS—A session of the U.N. Human Rights Commission is continuing its work here. Its characteristic feature has become prominent already: The thing is that about all the speakers mention the significance of the universal declaration of human rights. Participants in the session regard it as a kind of a milestone when they speak about the observance and protection of human rights.

Prime Minister Michel Rocard of France who addressed the commission today also mentioned the main provisions of the document. The head of the French Government pointed out that his country favoured the convocation of an international conference on the Middle East with the participation of all the parties concerned and five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council. He denounced the apartheid regime of South Africa and assured the commission that France would not relax its efforts aimed at its elimination.

Touching upon a resolution adopted by the U.N. General Assembly last December on the initiative of France which deals with international assistance to victims of national calamities, Michel rocard expressed special appreciation of the conduct of Soviet authorities which ensured a broad and free access to the USSR for rescue teams from various countries, including France, which helped the population of Soviet Armenia. He said that this important step was a worthy example of the implementation of the resolution which strengthened their belief in the universal nature of human rights.

The French prime minister urged to devote special attention to the eradication of poverty which, in his opinion, is one of the main directions of the protection of human rights.

In connection with the discussion at the session of the right of nations to self-determination some speakers mentioned Soviet Baltic republics. Feliks Stanevskiy, head of a Soviet delegation, said in this connection that the situation in the Baltic republics, as well as in the whole of the Soviet Union, was changing rapidly as a result of perestroyka, the development of glasnost and democracy. We are witnessing an unprecedented upsurge of the self-awareness of Soviet people, the development of a feeling of responsibility for the destinies of collectives, regions, republics, the whole of our multi-ethnic country. The Soviet representative told the session about the real processes taking place in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. He emphasised that the development and consolidation of the sovereignty of the Baltic and other union republics was a component part of a reform of the political system whose success depends not only on our internal aspirations, but also on the outside factors, on a climate of trust among states and on the humanization of international relations.

UN Committee on Nongovernmental Groups Meets
LD0401095289 Moscow TASS in English 0804 GMT 4 Feb 89

[Text] New York February 4 TASS—By TASS correspondent Nikolay Maslov:

A regular session of the U.N. Committee for Non-Governmental Organisations came to a close at the U.N. Headquarters on Friday.

For two weeks its participants heard reports on the work of international and national legal, scientific, educational, religious and other public organisations and approved more than 50 applications on the granting of a consultative status to them at the U.N. Economic and Social Council (Ecosoc).

The number of non-governmental organisations which seek to maintain relations with the U.N. is rapidly growing, said Rafeuddin Ahmed, U.N. under-secretary-general for international, economic and social affairs. Eight hundred of them are using their broad potentialities and resources for making a substantial contribution to the activities of the world community.

The session was held in an atmosphere of a businesslike and constructive dialogue, Vasiliy Sidorov, head of a Soviet delegation, told TASS. Much attention was devoted to the discussion of cooperation of non-governmental organisations in tackling globnl problems. With this in view a consultative status at the Ecosoc was granted to the public organisations which have enough practical experience and extensive international connections. These include the Foundation for Assistance Against Drug Addiction, the World Resources Institute, the International Academy of Architecture, the American Association of Jurists and the International Agency for Rural Industrialisation.

It is noteworthy that for the first time in many years confrontational language was not used in discussions at the Committee for Non-Governmental Organisations. This is the result of rejuvenation processes taking place at the United Nations Organisation which became evident during the 43rd U.N. General Assembly session.

United States & Canada

Bush Hints at Cooperation on Central America

LD0702070189 Moscow TASS in English 0659 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] Washington February 7 TASS—President Bush said on Monday there exists a chance for "a new spirit of cooperation" between the Soviet Union and the United States on Central American policy.

"I can see a possibility of cooperation in Central America", he told a news conference on the U.S. savings and loan industry crisis. "There are so many areas where we could demonstrate a new spirit of cooperation and that clearly could be one", he said.

However, Bush said he "would make no deal with the Soviets" on the possibility of the United States supplying aid to Nicaraguan contra rebels.

Ambassador Matlock Interviewed on Soviet Relations

PM0602171389 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 5, 4-10 Feb 89 (Signed to Press 2 Feb 89) pp 4-5

[Interview with U.S. Ambassador J. Matlock by Ye. Shtayger: "U.S. Ambassador in the USSR on Soviet-U.S. Relations: 'Two-Way Street'"; date, place not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] We offer ARGUMENTY I FAKTY readers an interview with U.S. Ambassador J. Matlock, which he granted to our weekly.

[Shtayger] Mr Ambassador, this is the fourth time you have worked in Moscow, and you have spent a total of more than 8 years here. What has your long stay in our country given you personally? Have you managed to get to know the "mysterious Russian soul"?

[Matlock] Spending a long time in Moscow, I have been able to familiarize myself directly with Soviet society and with Russian culture. It seems to me that I understand better all that is happening here than if I were following events in the USSR from the United States.

As for the "Russian soul," I am not sure that such a thing exists. What people evidently mean when they speak of this is the emotional nature of Russian and Soviet people generally. Personally, I do not believe that you are more emotional than the Americans, let us say.

I believe that it is possible to observe wide diversity in your society, as in others. Therefore it is necessary to be cautious when making generalized assessments of human behavior. On the whole, Soviet and Russian people strike me as having an open nature, like the majority of Americans.

[Shtayger] It is known that representatives of the Soviet intelligentsia have been frequent guests in your residence during the years that you have worked in Moscow as ambassador. Whom do you invite and why?

[Matlock] Contacts with Soviet acquaintances and friends are one of the nicest things about our life in Moscow. Of course, we are constantly endeavoring to extend our circle of acquaintances. We mainly invite those who would like to meet American guests.

Our guests from the United States are people of various professions, and so soirees are organized in the residence for statesmen, journalists, and representatives of science and art who come to the USSR.

A new tradition has also emerged: Every month we organize discussion seminars at which scientists from the United States—economists and demographers, historians and literary critics—discuss the most urgent problems in their own spheres with Soviet colleagues.

[Shtayger] In the age of glasnost many of the "doors" which were closed to your predecessors are open to you today. The press has reported, for example, that you visited USSR KGB Chairman V.A. Kryuchkov. What could you say about that?

[Matlock] The opportunity to visit Soviet leaders and speak with your country's leading people is extraordinarily important to understanding all that is happening, particularly today. Yuriy Dubinin, USSR ambassador to Washington, also meets with the most influential U.S. statesmen in Congress and the administration. This is quite natural and exceptionally useful to us both, since it creates a better basis for mutual understanding. I value this opportunity very much. And, of course, the KGB chairman, with whom, incidentally, I have been acquainted since the 1987 summit meeting in Washington, plays an important role in your society.

At that meeting, just as during my other visits to your high-ranking leaders, we discussed quite widely the course of restructuring and other problems concerning relations between our countries.

[Shtayger] In his speech outside the Capitol on Inauguration Day, President Bush spoke of his intention to "continue our new closeness with the Soviet Union." What could you say about continuity in pursuing and further developing this course?

[Matlock] During his first working day as President, George Bush told M.S. Gorbachev by telephone that he would continue the policy of deepening mutual understanding and broadening cooperation for the good of our two countries and the entire world community. It is obvious that his general approach to U.S.-Soviet relations will remain as before. And no wonder, for Bush was personally involved as vice president in shaping the policy of President Reagan's administration.

On the other hand, account must be taken of the fact that President Bush is another person, and his administration cannot be an exact copy, a simple repeat of what came before. Moreover, the world is constantly changing, and so President Bush will have to adapt to new international conditions in the future. I am sure that we will witness many innovations during the Bush Presidency.

I will draw your attention, for example, to a special, distinctive point in President Bush's program: He has repeatedly maintained that he wants to make America "kinder and gentler." In my opinion, he would like to do the same with U.S.-Soviet relations.

[Shtayger] Many Soviet people are interested in the fate of the new U.S. Embassy building in Moscow. It is known that Washington has decided to demolish it because bugging devices have allegedly been built into it. In a letter to the editors, an ARGUMENTY I FAKTY reader suggests buying the building back from the Americans. What would your attitude be toward such a suggestion? Have you personally seen these bugging devices?

[Matlock] The new chancellery really is unsuitable for our purposes, and I personally have seen proof of this unsuitability.

President Reagan made the decision to demolish the chancellery building and build a new one. However, our Congress has not yet approved that decision. And, accordingly, we have not yet held talks about this with the Soviet authorities. It is not quite clear now whether other options exist.

As for selling the building to the Soviet side, it seems to me that this is impossible: The new embassy is an entire complex of buildings, including residential blocks containing 120 apartments, a school, and other premises which we use and which we need. It is a question of demolishing just one of the buildings—the chancellery.

[Shtayger] It is possible to see long lines of people who have come to obtain a visa at your embassy in Tchaikovsky Street. How does the embassy cope with this flood? What could you say to those intending to leave the Soviet Union?

[Matlock] A lot of people really do gather in front of the embassy. They come to obtain an entry visa to the United States. It is all quite simple for those who hold an external passport with an exit visa from the USSR and who will be visiting the United States: If they apply for a visa in the morning, as a rule they obtain it toward the evening of the same day. We get up to 3,000 such people a month. Those who intend to take up permanent residence in the United States have to wait much longer. Everything here is more complex, because we have a definite number, that is, a "quota," of immigrants.

My advice to people wishing to emigrate is this: First of all, you must contact the embassy so that the consuls can enter your name on the list and tell you how long you will have to wait. I advise you not to give up your job or apartment too soon, and not to pull up your roots.

[Shtayger] It is known that in former years every emigrant who left the Soviet Union was automatically categorized as a political refugee. Do you believe that the new political climate in the USSR is one of the reasons why the U.S. approach to "refugee" status has changed?

[Matlock] This is undoubtedly significant. In the past almost 98 percent of emigrants left for the United States on the basis of being granted "political asylum."

As the Soviet authorities permit trips abroad, including emigration to take up permanent residence, so our approach to emigration visas is changing too.

[Shtayger] For a long time the United States would not agree to the holding of an international conference on humanitarian issues and human rights in Moscow. This agreement has now been given. Why right now?

[Matlock] First, we believe that human rights have recently been observed more carefully. Second, we have been assured that this process will continue. Taking these facts into account, we have agreed to the holding of this conference in Moscow and our participation in it.

It should generally be said that, jointly with the Soviet side, we have created more efficient channels to discuss all issues relating to human rights.

Of course, we realize that Soviet-U.S. relations are a two-way street, and so it is necessary to discuss openly and in very great detail all problems of concern to both you and us. For our part we strive to answer all the questions which the Soviet side broaches and puts to us. [Matlock ends]

From the Editors

In publishing the interview with His Excellency the U.S. Ambassador to the USSR J. Matlock, we wish to make a single amplification. The ambassador claims to have personally seen "proof of the unsuitability" of the chancellery building for the U.S. Embassy. However, as far as we know, such proof has not so far been produced either in the press, including the U.S. press, or at news conferences.

At the same time the world press has been briefed on the presence of bugging devices in the newly constructed USSR Embassy in Washington.

Public Diplomacy Group Recommends USIA Funding
PM0302113189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
1 Feb 89 Second Edition p 5

[Aleksandr Lyutyy commentary: "By Force of Argument"; for a related report see the 27 January Soviet Union DAILY REPORT p 20]

[Text] A few days ago the latest annual report of the U.S. Commission for Public Diplomacy was published in Washington. This bipartisan group of politicians, businessmen, and news media specialists, set up in 1978 and regarded as independent of the government, regularly analyzes the activities of the propaganda departments combined within the structure of the U.S. Information Agency (USIA) and issues recommendations for their work.

The present 80-page report includes the following lines: **"Glasnost and the enhanced skill of the Soviet news media make our struggle for trust and political sympathies more difficult. The Soviet Union has improved its relations with the news media in many countries and has greatly augmented the returns from its public diplomacy. Glasnost, judging by appearances, is profoundly influencing attitudes in West Europe, the United States, and other regions."**

The Commission for Public Diplomacy is made up in the main of conservative people whose bias is by no means pro-Soviet. At the moment, for instance, it is chaired by Edwin Feulner, president of the right-wing Heritage Foundation, which wields great influence in the Washington corridors of power. The conclusion which I have cited is therefore all the more symptomatic. Let us accept it as an enforced compliment to glasnost.

It is true that restructuring has changed our image abroad. In the past, many of our propaganda campaigns, no matter how noble their motives, did not achieve their aim because they exposed a discrepancy between the words spoken abroad and our actions at home. Articles from the pens of even the most brilliant journalists went flat when, for instance, they described the then existing system of elections to the country's legislative organs as a triumph of democracy.

Having told the rest of the world about the deformations and flaws in our life honestly and without embellishment, and having embarked on eliminating them, we have not lost in prestige but have in fact increased people's respect for us.

I will cite one example from the sphere of exchanges of information. The Soviet Union has stopped jamming Western radio stations. This was announced at the highest level. This step, received calmly in our country, had considerable repercussions in the West.

It is no secret that people there used the problem of jamming, and not without satisfaction, every time when they wanted to emphasize the closed nature of Soviet society. Ronald Reagan once said: **"The Soviets' expenditure on jamming Western radio stations exceeds the entire VOA budget."**

It is not for me to pronounce on the correctness of these calculations. However, I am convinced that we are saving quite a lot of money. Yet has the number of people in our country who listen to foreign "radio voices" risen sharply? I do not think so. Rather the reverse. Western radio stations are worried—the USSR is speaking about itself with such candor and openness, the spectrum of opinions has expanded so much that it has become extremely difficult to capture listeners' attention.

The U.S. Commission for Public Diplomacy is recommending that the government sharply increase expenditure on USIA activities (incidentally, even in the current fiscal year it totals $884 million—A.L.), proceed with the technical modernization of VOA, and increase the number of broadcasts and improve their quality. We have to bear all this in mind. Now, after the 8-year "era" of Charles Wick, the USIA leadership is being taken over by Bruce Gelb, a close friend of President Bush, a businessman, and a first-class advertising specialist who at one time headed the Clairol cosmetics company. The choice, I believe, is not fortuitous, and highly symbolic. It can be assumed that, just as Clairol supplies perfect make-up for American women, the new USIA director will try to add as much glamor as possible to the United States and U.S. policy abroad.

It can also be assumed that Washington will resort in its propaganda activities to varying degrees of distortion of facts and disinformation. It only remains to hope that there are as few cases of this as possible. They are not conducive to building reciprocal trust.

The final document of the Vienna meeting which ended recently makes provision for holding an international information forum in London in April-May. At this forum, in addition to already agreed items of the agenda, it might be possible to discuss a "code of conduct" for states in the sphere of information exchanges and the elimination from this sphere of a disrespectful attitude to other countries and peoples and deliberate interference in their internal affairs.

We favor exchanges of information, exchanges of ideas. But let these exchanges take place by civilized means. The arguments here must be furnished by the actual achievements and real advantages of each of the systems.

Journalists' Charges of Soviet Terrorism Refuted
PM0602145589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 5 Feb 89 Second Edition p 5

[A. Bogomolov "Rejoinder": " 'Compliment' and Dirty Trick"]

[Text] Two U.S. journalists writing in tandem—R. Novak and R. Evans—are among those people whose

political convictions are not appreciably affected by the fresh winds blowing in the world. They don't want to restructure themselves. Just like 10 and 20 years ago, they rehash the themes of the "Soviet threat," "Soviet terrorism," and "human rights violations in the USSR."

That is why it is unusual to read a compliment they have written regarding our technical achievements. Admittedly, to be more accurate, they are writing about...the technical skills of Soviet intelligence agents. It is a question of the air crash involving Pakistani dictator Ziaul Haq, in which the general himself and the people with him died.

A certain "U.S. toxic gas specialist" told Evans and Novak that chemical agents were dispersed in the aircraft's cockpit a few minutes after takeoff and the aircrew died or lost their bearings. "This demanded extremely great skill from the terrorists, in excess of the capabilities of Afghan Communist agents and, which is more likely, of Indians as well, which points directly to Moscow."

Neither the specialist nor, naturally, Evans and Novak produce proof that chemical agents were in fact used. But they don't need it. They are building a whole strategic system on the sand of their conjectures: The previous administration allegedly prevented FBI specialists being sent there to investigate the cirumstances behind the destruction of Ziaul Haq's aircraft (although a whole team of U.S. experts painstakingly studied the wreckage), fearing that the facts they uncovered would confirm the "Soviet trail." Thus, Evans and Novak hint, Washington covered up the truth to please Moscow.

For certain U.S. politicians the change of administration seems a convenient moment to curb the process of improving Soviet-U.S. relations. So, analyzing the route of Bush's forthcoming trips abroad, Evans and Novak conclude that he is "less firmly determined to prevent anything standing in the way of U.S.-Soviet detente."

[The version of A. Bogomolov's "Rejoinder" carried in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA's First Edition of 5 February has, in place of the preceding paragraph: "All these inventions would not be worth a mention if not for the fact that behind them is discernible a definite position occupied by very many people in the United States—to again, as in the sixties and seventies, curtail the process of the improvement of Soviet-U.S. relations. The change of administration seems a convenient moment for this. So, analyzing the route of Bush's forthcoming trips abroad, Evans and Novak conclude that he is 'less firmly determined to prevent anything standing in the way of U.S.-Soviet detente.'"]

Time will tell whether this claim has any more foundation than the terrible story of "Soviet agents" in the cockpit of Ziaul Haq's aircraft.

Decision To Cancel 'Reforger' Exercise Lauded

PM0602112989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Feb 89 Second Edition pp 1, 5

[Vitaliy Gan dispatch under the rubric "Correspondents Comment": "A Modification?"]

[Text] Washington, 3 Feb—"Reforger" is a strange sort of word. It cannot be found in any dictionary, with the exception of a list of NATO jargon terms. In the language of the North Atlantic bloc it means "return of armed forces to Germany." It is a hypothetical term, of course, because there is no need for U.S. troops—and it is they who are referred to—to return to the FRG. The Pentagon's forces are already on West German territory, and have been there for quite some time.

Nonetheless, for the past 20 years, at approximately this time of year, the "Reforger" NATO military maneuvers have descended on European soil. Armored personnel carriers, aircraft, and tanks have shattered the tranquillity of cities and churned up farmland. Quite often the "Reforger" exercises have claimed human lives.

The Pentagon has just announced that this year there will be no "return." The U.S. Defense Department has decided to refrain from the traditional assault landing of its troops in the Old World in favor of "more effective training." This means that instead of the usual cumbersome movement of troops and armaments, NATO commanders will, in the main, rehearse their scenarios of a "conflict in Europe" on computers rather than on the land of peaceful German farmers. In other words, the traditional "wargames" will be switched from FRG citizens' fields and vegetable plots to computer screens and will aim "to enhance the skills" of the command staff rather than those of the rank and file.

It must be said right away that this is an unexpected decision, especially against the backdrop of the "hawkish" language currently used by certain U.S. leaders. G. Bush appointees who are currently undergoing confirmation by Congress, and in particular the candidate for the post of Secretary of Defense, former Senator J. Tower, are spending much time deliberating on "the threat to Europe from the East." It is as if they are motivated by an inertia mentality which by any objective standard does not fit the parameters of the radical new concept of mutual peace and security put forward by the Soviet Union.

In purely formal terms, the Pentagon's step is being explained by references to the need to save money. Although no definite figures are quoted, it is obvious that considerable sums are involved. Another reason is the air and other disasters which have multiplied in recent years, and claimed casualties not only among NATO servicemen but also among the FRG's civilian population.

All this is true. However, people at the Pentagon are also realizing that the "demonstration of U.S. determination and ability to defend West Germany in the event of the threat or outbreak of war" is causing mounting irritation among both the FRG population and the European public. This applies especially now, when new horizons have opened up for the peoples of Europe, thanks to the Soviet initiatives aimed at doing away with military confrontation and eliminating the threat of conflict.

In its statement the Pentagon denies that this decision "is connected" with the unilateral measures announced by M.S. Gorbachev in his speech at the UN General Assembly session. This may be so. But something else is also unquestionable—namely, that the impact on people's attitudes of the program put forward by the Soviet Union is forcing U.S. military-political strategists to modify their actions, at least to some extent. In this sense the present decision of the Pentagon is, nonetheless, a positive development.

U.S. Journalists Visit Soviet Missile Cruiser

PM0702091589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Feb 89 First Edition p 3

["Our Correspondent" report: "U.S. Journalists on Board the Cruiser 'Slava'"]

[Text] U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT is a famous U.S. periodical. Representatives of this political and economic weekly, which is one of six nationwide press organs—M. Zuckerman, chief editor and chairman of the board, D. Trimble, chief of the magazine's Moscow office, and photographer E. Kloupi [name as transliterated]—visited the missile cruiser "Slava." They were given an opportunity to tour the ship and take photographs.

Lunch in the officers' wardroom was followed by a conversation between the U.S. journalists and the ship's crew. Here are some questions and answers from this conversation.

[Question] What is the purpose of your visit to the Soviet Union, and what are your impressions from your meetings with the crew?

[Answer] There have been significant changes in USSR-U.S. relations, and Americans are interested in what is happening in the Soviet Union. Many of them have no idea about the Soviet Armed Forces.

We are pleased with the opportunity to visit different military units and training centers and see for ourselves the personnel training system. We have never before visited your warships. We are happy that this omission has now been rectified.

[Question] What issues do you want to cover in your weekly?

[Answer] We are pursuing several objectives. First, to tell how your Armed Forces are composed—the army draft, specialized training. Second, to show the role played by the Soviet Armed Forces in society from the moment of birth to the present, as distinct from the role played in society by our Armed Forces. Third, we want to show your difficulties and problems. And finally, the development of Russian and Soviet military doctrine, which has undergone a series of changes since World War I.

[Question] Have you seen anything that is common to Soviet and U.S. Navy personnel?

[Answer] Both you and the U.S. seamen who serve on ships do not see your home shores for long periods. The difference is that the United States does not have universal military service—its Army and Navy are professional. Some U.S. seamen look on service as an opportunity to make a career. But they also have the desire to have more free time, better food, and less work.

[Question] What prompts Americans to join the Army?

[Answer] Many believe that service will give them an opportunity to gain education, since this is harder in civilian life. For some it is a test of oneself. Their desire is also prompted by a sense of patriotism. After 20 years of service they receive a pension and can start a different job.

[Question] Could you tell us how you will depict the Soviet seaman in your articles? If you speak about friendliness, are you not likely to lose subscribers?

[Answer] I do not think we will lose any. Our readers expect objective information. We think that the bulk of the world's population would welcome the news that the United States and the Soviet Union are no longer enemies.

Canadian Reactions to U.S. Missile Test Viewed

PM0301162689 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Article by A. Shalnev under general heading "Steps in Different Directions"]

[Text] The Canadian Government announced on Wednesday that it has granted permission for the U.S. Air Force to carry out tests of an improved cruise missile over Canadian territory.

The missile, referred to by the abbreviation AGM-129A, uses "Stealth" technology, which enables it to avoid detection by enemy radar. Another feature of this missile, which has a range of 4,000 km, is that it is equipped with a more complex guidance system. According to the Canadian press, tests will take place by the end of this month.

As the Canadian Ministry of National Defense announced, the forthcoming tests are an "important contribution to the NATO cause." A statement was also made by Foreign Minister Clark, who, patently in an attempt to forestall the negative reaction of many Canadians, asserted that this improved missile is a purely defensive weapon. That is not what the opposition Liberal Party, for instance, thinks. A high-ranking spokesman for that party warned of the "danger of destabilization" inherent in Ottawa's decision. And experts from the Arms Control and Disarmament Center stressed that the expected tests "will lead to an escalation of the arms race between the superpowers."

There are also personal attacks on Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney. People are now saying, CTV television noted, that he is taking M. Thatcher's place as the most "hawkish U.S. ally in NATO." Simon Rosenblum of the "Project Ploshary" organization noted that Ottawa will warmly applaud Washington.

As for the Canadians themselves, virtually all commentators predict a revival of the movement against the testing of American missiles, a movement that was very active at one time but which has become markedly weaker in recent years.

China

Bovin Welcomes USSR-PRC Normalization

PM0702164189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 5

[A. Bovin "Political Observer's Opinion": "Chief Event of the Year"]

[Text] The year has only just begun. Many events lie ahead, including those that we expect and prepare for in advance, and those that fall under the category of surprises—pleasant or unpleasant. Important and very important events lie ahead. Yet it seems to me that the most important event of the year—both for the Soviet Union and for the world situation as a whole—will be M.S. Gorbachev's visit to Beijing and the full normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations.

I catch myself thinking that this assessment is, perhaps, too subjective, because for my generation, for those who sang "Moscow-Beijing, Moscow-Beijing..."—this was, as it were, the hymn of Soviet-Chinese friendship—unity, friendship, and very close cooperation with the new People's China were not so much a question of politics or of state choice as a completely natural and normal state. The break with China was emotionally perceived as something unnatural, as an absurdity, as a malicious joke of history. But there were no "jokes." There was a rigid logic. The break was predetermined by Mao Zedong's switch to positions of leftist extremism and by his insistent demands that the CPSU "renounce" the 20th congress and that the USSR "renounce" the policy of peaceful coexistence in favor of an uncompromising class struggle. N.S. Khrushchev's impulsive reaction, his harsh statements, and the sudden, unexpected recall of our specialists contributed to the deterioration in Soviet-Chinese relations. But that contribution concerned the form rather than the essence of what was happening.

A long period of political confrontation, border conflicts, and fierce ideological skirmishing began. Every cloud has a silver lining—this, or roughly this, was what Mao Zedong repeatedly said. The need publicly to repulse the attacks on the 20th congress and the CPSU program and to oppose leftism and dogmatism restrained our own "Maoists" and to some extent slowed the shift toward neo-Stalinism, which had become apparent here. Incidentally, the thesis that peaceful coexistence is a form of class struggle emerged as an attempt to bring positions closer to Maoism: the idea that you could have both peaceful coexistence and class struggle.

The end of the seventies brought a new wind from the East. Chinese Communists found within themselves the courage to make an agonizing—as we ourselves know—reappraisal of values. The path of the radical renewal of socialism, the path of the socialist modernization of Chinese society was chosen. Unfortunately, our ideological machine was far from quick to perceive the direction of the turn in CPC policy. The leading or, more accurately, the directing "experts" on China insisted that the changes in China were of a cosmetic nature and that "right-wing" Maoism had replaced "left-wing" Maoism. Nothing more... In the end, time put everything in its place.

Deng Xiaoping was right to say: Finish with the past, open up the future. But finishing does not mean forgetting. Finishing means drawing lessons. Spur-of-the-monent assessments must give way to objective scientific studies of the history of Soviet-Chinese relations. Only by knowing the past is it possible to ensure that it is not repeated.

Now about the future.

It can hardly be doubted that the normalization of relations between the two greatest socialist powers will influence the overall tenor of world politics. Both China and the Soviet Union advocate the profound restructuring of international relations, the continuation of detente, disarmament, the elimination and prevention of local conflicts, and the opportunity for every people to decide their own fate for themselves and to make their own historical choice. These are precisely the "cards" which both Moscow and Beijing want to play. Since this is so, pressure to strengthen peace and security, equality and justice in the international arena will increase.

The normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations will also have a positive impact in Asia and the Asia-Pacific region. In fact, it is already beginning to take effect.

Talks on the Cambodian problem are becoming more intensive. There is no doubt that Soviet-Chinese mutual understanding will help to unravel the Cambodian knot.

It is not hard to predict a parallel improvement in Sino-Vietnamese relations, the stabilization of the situation in Southeast Asia, and a move toward constructive collaboration between ASEAN and the countries of Southeast Asia. Korean problems are also moving from their standstill position.

Smoothing out relations in the Delhi-Beijing-Moscow "triangle" will have enormous significance from the standpoint of Asian—and world—politics.

Finally, bilateral relations. What could be more important for us than good-neighborly relations with a country with which we are linked—not divided, but linked—by a 7,500 km common border and which will be one of the "superpowers" in the 21st century? I hope that the same logic—the logic of state, national interests—is at work in Beijing. There are still some unresolved problems in Soviet-Chinese relations. We take different views on some questions of international life. We will gradually bring our positions closer together and solve the unresolved issues. In this respect we will always bear in mind that life, the course of events, and turning points in history will raise new questions and give rise to differences and disputes. This should not be a problem. Against a background of trust, understanding of each other's interests, and respect for the independence of each country's positions and decisions, there can be no questions to which reasonable answers cannot be found.

And another thing: Looking to the future, it is impossible not to realize that the destinies of China and the Soviet Union, the destiny of world socialism, and the entire face of the 21st century will largely depend on how successfully the renewal, restructuring, and modernization of the Soviet and Chinese societies are carried out. By normalizing their relations along state and party lines, the two countries are throwing their doors wide open to exchanging social experience, to learning from one another, and to jointly seeking a modern concept of socialism.

...Journalists have to write about not only what was or what is. They also have to write about what will be. The risk of error is perfectly real. I myself have not escaped this experience—events have not always "fallen in" with my predictions. This makes it all the more pleasant to recall those cases where a prediction has come true. In December 1978, literally a few days before the establishment of U.S.-PRC diplomatic relations, I was in Washington. There is an "Asia Society" there. Its leaders invited me to give a lecture on Soviet-Chinese relations. At that time the Americans were playing the "China card" for all it was worth and were in a state of euphoria. My idea that the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations was inevitable in the not-too-distant future met with obvious skepticism. One of the main arguments went roughly like this: Surely you must be able to see that China is moving onto the path of capitalist development, which means... and so on and so forth. I pointed out that a political strategy geared to return China to capitalism and perpetuate the Soviet-Chinese conflict would sooner or later devalue the tactical points being picked up by the Americans with such enthusiasm. I would be glad to reiterate this point before the same audience....

Changes in Soviet-Chinese relations were noted in the early eighties. The first steps away from confrontation and toward dialogue were taken with difficulty, meeting resistance on the way. Only after several years, following decisive changes in the leadership of both countries, has a sense of reality prevailed in both Moscow and Beijing. The breakthrough into the future has been made and has begun to grow rapidly. The visit by E.A. Shevardnadze confirmed this. M.S. Gorbachev's visit will take Soviet-Chinese relations to a qualitatively new level. I repeat that, in my opinion, this will be the most important event of 1989.

Blagoveshchensk-Heihe City Trade Outlined

OW0502065189 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 30 Jan 89

[Text] Both the Soviet Union and China attach particular importance to developing the two countries' border contacts. Here we are referring to trade, joint production, enterprise contacts, and travel. Since last year, large localities and individual cities on both sides have begun contacts or cooperation. For example, cooperation has developed between the Soviet Union's Blagoveshchensk city and China's Heihe city. Our station observer Petrovskiy points out:

Blagoveshchensk and Heihe are separated by the Heilongjiang River, which is about 500 meters wide. Therefore, it is not surprising that the two cities have developed all kinds of cooperation since ancient times. In the late 1950's and early 1960's, when Soviet-Chinese relations were strained, Blagoveshchensk and Heihe terminated their contacts. Now they have resumed contacts, vigorously developing cooperation in all fields. Take trade, for example: Since last year Blagoveshchensk and Heihe have signed a series of trade agreements worth a total of 130 million Swiss francs. Since the two cities are situated on the two sides of the river, it is easy for them to engage in exchanges of goods. Besides, currently it is a time of [words indistinct], when travel and transport of goods between the two cities can be carried out across the frozen surface of Heilongjiang River. Blagoveshchensk and Heihe are developing trade activities, exchanging goods, and supplying each other with the goods each needs. The Chinese provide the Soviet side with textile and agricultural products and electronic equipment and instruments. Blagoveshchensk supplies the Chinese side with chemical fertilizer, polyethylene film, steel products, and timber. Now Chinese workers can also be seen at construction sites in Blagoveshchensk. This kind of cooperation has been developing

rapidly. Both sides hold that this kind of cooperation has a promising future. This is based on the fact that Heihe has a problem of surplus labor—as does all of Heilongjiang Province—while Blagoveshchensk and its neighboring areas are faced with a labor shortage.

Last, let's talk about travel: Last fall travel agencies from the two countries signed a reciprocal travel agreement under which citizens of the two countries who plan to travel do not have to apply for foreign exchange. According to the agreement, two touring parties, each consisting of dozens of people from the two nations, will be allowed to exchange visits every week. But the Soviet and Chinese sides believe this is only the beginning. In the future, the number of Soviet and Chinese tourists visiting the other nation's cities will greatly increase. Besides, those living in Blagoveshchensk and Heihe are not the only people in the two countries who are interested in crossing the river to visit the other nation. According to Chinese press reports, there are people in Beijing, Shanghai, Harbin, and other cities who have applied for (?1-day) visits to the Soviet Union.

Tuva ASSR, PRC's Shenyang Sign Accord

OW0102080989 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 29 Jan 89

[Text] A document signed in Kyzyl on 28 January confirmed the basic direction of mutually beneficial cooperation between factories in the Tuva ASSR and China's Shenyang city.

An agreement was reached during the talks held in the capital of the ASSR on the supply of timber processing equipment to Tuva, production of wooden articles, the latest technology for processing hide and fur, and component parts for assembling computers used in daily life. Some of the products will be on sale abroad.

Both sides stipulated joint efforts to design the latest techniques for using asbestos and other waste matter.

PRC Political Reforms, Background Outlined

PM0302112589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent Yu. Savenkov dispatch: "China: Time for Political Reform"]

[Text] Beijing—It has become commonly accepted in China that the economic reform is a success and that even the unprecedented difficulties and problems that have arisen, among which inflation and corruption seem the most acute, cannot reduce its effect, but the political reform is being held up and is lagging behind...

However, the preconditions for the economic takeoff of the past decade should be sought precisely in political measures. The removal of the "Gang of Four" from the arena and the return of those who suffered during the troubled times of the "Cultural Revolution" to vigorous party, state, and public activity—were these not political steps? In a debate held 2 years ago by the Association of Social Scientists on ways to implement political reform in China, a scientist counted 30 "political breakthroughs" since the December 1978 plenum. They include two very significant ones. The first breakthrough was the concept of "one country—two socioeconomic systems," which was proposed as the basis for the restoration of China's sovereign rights over Hong Kong and Macao and the reunification of Taiwan with the motherland. The second breakthrough was the abandonment of the system of people's communes, which had eradicated individual differences in the work and daily life of peasants.

The well-known political scientist Yan Jiaqi advanced the theory of four types of society. The first is the so-called "potato society" consisting of self-supporting units isolated from each other. The people's communes of China were a typical example of just such a society of "barracks communism." The second stage is the "pyramidal society" governed from top to bottom. The third is the rule-of-law society with develops horizontal ties. The fourth is the highly organized society of the future. From his viewpoint, China is now at the second stage, having not yet rid itself completely of the first. But the country's wealth and strength are linked with entry into the third—the rule-of-law state.

Now that China is taking its first steps toward a rule-of-law state, I think it must not be forgotten that features of political restructuring were gradually maturing during the last decade. Deng Xiaoping, architect of Chinese reform, pointed out: "If the system has a healthy foundation, bad elements cannot act at will. But if there is no such healthy foundation, decent people will be unable to develop to the full...."

Chinese friends have told me that not everyone at that time understood the profundity of that idea of Deng's. Only gradually did they arrive at the conclusion that a country where democracy is not developed can achieve a temporary economic miracle, but its stable long-term development will inevitably be put in doubt.

Under Chinese conditions the rejuvenation of cadres and the raising of their educational level are extremely important. A decision was made 7 years ago to institute advisers in party organs at the center and in the provinces. This was the first step toward overcoming the system of life-long tenure of posts, and the process of promoting younger cadres began simultaneously with that of utilizing the experience of veterans. Advisers have also been instituted in ministries and departments. A system of age restrictions for administrators in scientific establishments and higher educational institutions is gradually being introduced. The statistics of the 13th party congress held in the fall of the year before last are characteristic. The average age of the members and candidate members of the new Central Committee is

55—4 years younger than in the previous one. The age of the members and candidate members of the Politburo is 63—7 years less than in the previous one.

It was the 13th congress that put forward the political reform program aimed at "creating in the long term a viable socialist political system with highly developed democracy, perfect law and order, and high efficiency." Like the 13th congress, last spring's session of the National People's Congress was distinguished by a still higher level of democracy. The deputies were able to choose candidate members of the National People's Congress Standing Committee. Approximately 100 amendments were made to the report on the government's work, and there was a considerable increase in the number of votes "against." Closed voting booths were set up for the first time.

But the path to democracy is quite complex. Right after the session sociologists put a series of questions to deputies, including this one: "Was a deputy's wife right to ring him after he had voted 'against' and remind him what persecution he had suffered during the ideological campaigns of the fifties and sixties?" Half of those polled replied "Yes." Analysts assessed the situation like this: Even a parliamentarian has to have great courage to say what he thinks. Those sadly memorable political campaigns, particularly the "Cultural Revolution," left such a mark on people's souls that it will take many more political reforms and persistent efforts in the democratization of life to expunge from people's memories the recollection of those tragedies.

Newspapers are now analyzing in detail and in depth problems of the democratization of society and describing the political reform's steps. This problem, for example, is being discussed: For many years Chinese jurists considered the law a product of the irreconcilability of class contradictions, a tool of the class struggle, and the expression of the will of the ruling class. This viewpoint, the author of a review in the pages of the newspaper GUANGMING RIBAO writes, was in fact advanced by A.Ya. Vyshinskiy. In his time he carried weight in China's ruling circles, and almost all his works were translated into Chinese. Despite the fact, the newspaper continues, that he was criticized in the Soviet Union a few years after Stalin's death, his influence is felt among Chinese jurists to this day. His concept of the law, the commentator Zhang Zonghou writes, encourages ignorance of the law as such, limits involvement in international juridical contacts, and holds up the development of China's legal system.

A recent conference of the CPC Central Committee Secretariat chaired by Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, raised the question of the integrity and honesty of cadre personnel of party and state organs. The struggle against corruption must be waged using juridical, administrative, disciplinary, and educational methods. Chief attention must be devoted to investigating particularly major economic crimes which have caused serious harm to the national economy. The conference spoke of the role of democratic parties, mass organizations, and nonparty people in monitoring the life of the state. Party committees and governments at all levels must regularly listen to the opinions of these organizations and citizens. Mention was made of the need to call Communists found guilty of corruption strictly to account, right down to expelling them from the party. Incidentally, from 1983 through 1987 150,000 CPC members were expelled for corruption, and 500,000 received penalties for violations of party discipline. The CPC Central Discipline Inspection Commission recently approved new, more stringent rules governing the conduct of party members. All these measures are aimed at enhancing the party's role and prestige at a time of cardinal transformations in all aspects of Chinese society's life.

The structural reform of the government is gathering momentum. The staffs of departments under ministries' auspices have been reduced by 20 percent. The provincial governments will be reformed this year, and then district and city governments.

"The economic reform in China may be compared with a tough athletic competition," Xie Xiaoqing, director of the Beijing Cadre Assessment Center, says. "Competent and impartial judges are needed to guarantee an honest competition." The old cadre system had two faults—corruption in appointing and promoting people up the official ladder, and suppression of true talents. Xie Xiaoqing and his colleagues proposed a triad: assessment of services; opinion of the chief, of colleagues of equal rank, and also of subordinates; and examination. Xie considers examination the chief component as the most objective method.

The palette of China's political reform is multicolored. Assessing its character, social scientists and political scientists point out: In recent years there has been progress in the party leadership and the cadre system, and the role of democratic parties has been widened. But all these changes still do not correspond to progress in the economy. I want to familiarize the reader with the viewpoint of one political scientist.

Yan Jiaqi is an outstanding figure on China's scientific horizon. His views are always interesting, although they strike some people as debatable. He is always questing. In the early sixties Yan studied at China's scientific and technical university and then began systematically investigating the political system of states and the problem of democracy. Subsequently books appeared—"The System of Power for Life and the System of Power for a Limited Time" and "On Heads of States and Governments." They elicited an ardent response and were repeatedly reprinted. In the early eighties, when the Political Science Institute was being formed under the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, he was one of those

who laid its foundations. In recent years he was its director. He recently left this post and is now an "ordinary scientist," as he puts it.

Together with Yan Jiaqi, we singled out three themes in the formulation of the question concerning the political reform: the rule-of-law state; the delimitation of party and state functions; and his view on political restructuring in the USSR. But after giving the matter some thought, Yan Jiaqi proposed starting with historical background.

"According to traditional Chinese views," the scientist explained, "there was just one organizational form of the political system—the highest concentration of power. Does the state prosper? That depends on the ruler, not on the political system, and so for millennia people opposed corrupt officials and tyrants and dreamed of 'honest officials' and 'flourishing rulers.' The formation of the PRC ushered in a new period in our country's history. But the political and economic systems were under the profound influence of the Soviet model of the Stalinist period. For a long time it was believed that a socialist country presupposed highly concentrated management in all spheres. This understanding of socialism coincided with China's traditional feudal-political culture. The Chinese, now under the banner of socialism, once again got carried away with seeking the perfect leader—the 'continuer of the revolution,' who would meet the conditions laid down by Mao Zedong.

"The starting point for the present political reform in China is the recognition that there is no perfect person, so what is needed is a system which binds him. The 'Cultural Revolution' lacked just such a mechanism to rectify the leader's mistakes. So it was only upon the death of Mao Zedong that the possibility appeared of rectifying the mistakes of the 'Cultural Revolution.'

"China's 1 billion people can be united," Yan Jiaqi continued, "only on the basis of the idea of 'the law above all else.' The rule-of-law state abides by two principles: Citizens may do everything that is not prohibited by law, and politicians cannot wield power which is not granted them by law. Incidentally, the USSR has gone further in implementing the idea of the rule-of-law state. I am pleased that you have confirmed not only the principle of 'independence of justice' but also the principle of 'presumption of innocence.' All this," Yan Jiaqi summed up, "is extremely necessary for the creation of a rule-of-law state in the full sense of the word...."

I would like to point out that during the years of the revolutionary and people's liberation struggle a situation came about historically whereby the CPC virtually assumed the government's functions. Chinese Communists believe that this system was a guarantee of the revolution's victory. During the first year after the formation of the new China, party groups were transformed into government organs at all levels. It was necessary to consolidate power and restore the national economy, and the party assumed all these duties. But an indistinct delimitation of functions was noticeable even then. Many people felt that the party was beginning to get bogged down in routine work, cadres were swelling, and this contributed to the emergence of bureaucracy and formalism. As the newspaper BEIJING RIBAO wrote recently, party committees were the sole masters, and the distinctions between party and state functions were becoming increasingly vague.

"Yes, these were the realities of political life in China," Yan Jiaqi continued. "Parallel organs managing state affairs had taken shape. Where provincial party committees, for example, had secretaries answerable for the government's work, lower government organs found themselves in a position of double subordination. This became typical, and when we speak of delimiting party functions, this strikes many people as pointless. Different interpretations exist: Some believe that a party organization secretary should not simultaneously hold a post in the administrative leadership—and this will be delimitation. Others say: The CPC is the ruling party, and delimitations in general are not possible. But a simple truth should be understood: It is necessary to delimit functions. Organizationally there is no relationship of subordination between the party and the government. The ruling party forms the government, studies important questions of national and local significance and international problems, and adopts political decisions which are implemented by party leaders holding government posts, who turn them into the will of the state, into the law and administrative resolutions, as laid down by the Constitution and the law.

"Functions are being delimited quite well at an enterprise where a system of director responsibility has been introduced and where the party committees play a monitoring and supporting role. We call this too a delimitation of party and government functions in the broad sense. In my view, however, the delimitation of functions in government departments is not quite satisfactory. Incidentally, a new work system for state employees is now being created in China that will help to realize the principle of delimitation in cadre policy. There will be two categories of employees: administrative and professional. In central government the first category includes, for example, deputy chairmen, ministers, and so forth. They are elected and appointed according to the Constitution. The government's next composition will also be based on convening meetings of people's representatives of the next convocation. Some people will be elected, some not—the meeting of people's representatives will decide. There will be no limits on periods of service for professional employees, except, of course, for pension status."

"What is your view of the idea advanced by M.S. Gorbachev to combine the posts of general secretary of the party committee, right up to the Central Committee, and head of the corresponding soviet of people's deputies? A single person as secretary and chairman?"

"It is an interesting proposal. I have also noticed an amendment to the USSR Constitution: the decision to institute a new state post—chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet. If the CPSU as the ruling party puts its chief leader in this post, this is in full accordance with the principle of delimiting party and government functions and at the same time ensures the party's leading role. Any ruling party forms the government and pursues its political course through it. In this instance the socialist countries are no exception. In a socialist state there are many forms of relations between party and state organizations, and any model whereby the party's chief leader holds posts in such sectors is acceptable.

"The defects of the Stalinist system consisted not only in the lack of delimitation but also in the indivisibility of power in the hands of the top leader. In the final analysis, a single man decided all the most important issues. This was how Stalin and Brezhnev acted, and Mao Zedong in China. Power lay in their hands until the end of their lives. It was in order to retain supreme power for life that Stalin struggled against Bukharin, and Mao Zedong against Liu Shaoqi. I was very pleased that an amendment to the USSR Constitution clearly states: The chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet is elected for 5 years, but for not more than two terms in succession. This abolishes the system of lifetime tenure of the top leader's post. The 1982 PRC Constitution also provides for a term limiting the powers of chairman of the PRC and head of the government. This is one of the most important reforms of China's political system. But this provision of the Constitution will play its proper role only after party and government functions have really been delimited," Yan Jiaqi said in conclusion.

Near East & South Asia

Shevardnadze Holds News Conference in Islamabad

PM0702113189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
7 Feb 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "E.A. Shevardnadze's News Conference"]

[Text] Islamabad, 6 Feb—A news conference was given here today by E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, USSR Minister of foreign affairs. The Soviet minister made the following statement.

Ladies and Gentlemen!

I welcome you to the Soviet Embassy and I thank you for the attention you have paid to our visit. Since I arrived in Islamabad after my trip around China, I would like to begin our news conference by stating that M.S. Gorbachev's visit to China, and accordingly the Soviet-Chinese summit meeting, will take place 15-18 May of this year. An accord on this was reached during the course of my visit to China.

Now that the Soviet-Chinese summit meeting has been clearly marked in the year's political calendar we are entitled to say that it will signify the full normalization of relations between the Soviet Union and China.

Such is the decision of the sides, which corresponds to the will and aspirations of the two peoples and states and, I dare to think, the wishes of the world community. By the very fact of a meeting between Comrade M.S. Gorbachev and Deng Xiaoping—and there is a relevant accord on this—and through the converations with other Chinese leaders, a line is being drawn under the past and the course of the future is appearing. We will embark on constructing it according to a plan which clearly defines the principles of the new Soviet-Chinese relations. It is a matter of the joint document, which is now being drawn up, and which will be adopted at the Soviet-Chinese summit meeting.

Over the past few days in Beijing we worked intensively with our Chinese partners on yet another joint document—a statement on a political settlement concerning Kampuchea. When it is published—and this will be soon—you will see in it not only areas of agreement between the two states on ways to eliminate the crisis situation in the region, but also a trend which is being manifested ever more clearly in today's world.

This trend is characterized by a general aspiration to facilitate the settlement of regional conflicts; by a recognition of the fruitlessness of using military means and of the irreplaceability of political methods to settle these disputes; by the supremacy of the idea of national reconciliation and concord over ideological disagreements, tribal and religious discord; and by the participation of all those involved in the confict in the formation of widely representative political structure.

There is no such thing as a universal approach to regional conflicts, but this trend is universal. The present generations have it within their power to confirm the trend. We are convinced of this, and that is why we are here.

This is the first visit by a USSR foreign minister to Pakistan in all the years of Soviet-Pakistani relations. There is no reason to hide the aim of this mission—it is to talk with the Pakistani leadership on Afghan matters at an extemely important moment in the development of the situation in Afghanistan.

Soviet troops are withdrawing from that country, which is a neighbor of ours and of Pakistan. Today there are no more of our troops left in Kabul, and in a week there will be none left anywhere in the country.

The withdrawal of our troops has been carried out in accordance with the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan, and in accordance with the will of the world community, the majority of the world. To ignore this, and to ignore

the feelings of our own people, would mean acting against the principles of our political thought, our political declarations and directives.

Our words have not departed from our deeds. But there is another word and another deed, and there can be no dissension between them: the word of fidelity given to Afghanistan during its difficult time, which we have no right to break in this, its no less difficult hour. The departure of the last Soviet soldier from Afghanistan must not be the doorway to civil war there. It is our business to search for and find ways for a political settlement, for an end to the fratricidal bloodshed.

Our status as guarantor of the Geneva agreements obliges us to do so.

Our moral responsibility for the fate of Afghanistan obliges us to do so.

As does our principled policy of unblocking regional conflict situations.

As does our own interest in peace and calm on our borders.

We are convinced that Pakistan, too, for its own motives, wants a political settlement. For new ordeals for the Afghan people are new ordeals for Pakistan, too.

The joint document adopted as a result of our talks is imbued with this understanding, both sides unambiguously opting for a political solution and for an end to bloodshed in Afghanistan.

This document is an extremely important record of the intentions of the Soviet Union and Pakistan on questions concerning an Afghan settlement. We hope that it will work for peace in Afghanistan.

During the course of the talks in Islamabad we held in-depth consultations on the Afghan situation. Naturally, there are many things which divide us, and our appraisals do not by any means coincide on all things. However, the conversations with President Ghulam Ishaq Khan, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, and Pakistani Foreign Minister Yaqub Khan showed that there exists a high degree of agreement among us on key aspects.

In particular, both the Soviet and the Afghan leadership, as well as the President of the Republic of Afghanistan, do not believe that an armed struggle will lead to peace. Only a dialogue can lead to peace. It was not by chance, therefore, that this problem—the problem of an intra-Afghan peace dialogue—came to the forefront in the conversations in Islamabad.

How can this be established, and how can it be started? It is precisely this which we see as the main concern at the present time.

I emphasize that we are not just calling others to talks, but we ourselves will conduct them with all who are ready for a dialogue with us. We have established, we are maintaining, and we shall develop contacts with the representatives of all Afghan opposition groups, in the hope and belief that a dialogue will gradually generate trust and reduce one's intolerance toward the other.

Naturally, no one is indifferent to the organizational forms of agreement as such. It can be a consultative council or a coalition government. Whatever the forms or structures, however, they will only ensure a settlement if they embody within them the interests of all the parties—if just representation is ensured for them in the bodies of authority being set up.

Besides the will of the weapon, there exists the weapon of will. A will for dialogue and for peace. The PDPA is the largest and best organized force in Afghan society, and is fully provided for by it. Without claiming to have any monopoly in political dialogue, any special privileges, it is ready for far-reaching compromises. This must be taken into account, as, moreover, should the fact that nobody is preparing to capitulate. The latter would only signify more victims, hardships and grief.

We are convinced that separate options will not work. Neither the alliance, nor the PDPA, nor the former King Zahir Shah and other figures who emigrated can be disregarded. Such attempts will cause an excessive loss of time. And if the quest for a form of just representation is difficult, then perhaps it is worth returning to the idea put forward by M.S. Gorbachev of organizing an international conference on an Afghan settlement.

Taking into account the serious nature of the matter, we would have every ground for requesting the UN general secretary to tackle this matter personally.

As an intermediate variant, a meeting of the representatives of all the Afghan groups who could assemble in the presence of UN representatives is possible.

But with any of these versions the main thing now is still to ensure that those claiming the right to speak on behalf of all Afghans seriously think about the future, putting first the future of their country, their people.

Yes, the years of the conflict were full to the limit with suffering. The pain of losses engendered hatred and caused an epidemic of vengeance. The continuation of this would be an impasse for the nation, a tragedy for every family and every person, and would on a regional scale undermine their security. It will be extremely regrettable if this happens at a time when the trend to normalization is strengthening here, with relations improving between Pakistan and India, India and China, and between other countries, and when military actions have been halted between Iran and Iraq.

The way out of the impasse was shown by a personal and state sense of responsibility. Reflecting on this, we ask what the closure of some embassies in Kabul signifies—a shortage of a sense of responsibility, or a political demarche?

Whatever it is, it did not prove possible to sow panic in Kabul. The position there is relatively normal, although not without difficulties. The population is being supplied with food. The airlift is operating without a break, and the Hayraton-Kabul road is open. Implementation of international humanitarian aid programs have started. Much is being done on the UN program, which is being coordinated by Mr Agha Khan. Yesterday I met with him, and he spoke with optimism about the implementation of the intended programs.

Our meetings and talks in Islamabad have encouraged us and strengthened our conviction in the possibility of dialogue. If things continue in this direction everyone will gain. And that includes the Soviet Union.

One does not even want to think of such a thing, but if new complications arise, if tension increases and interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan continues, we will have to recall that the Soviet Union has obligations toward the Republic of Afghanistan and has a treaty with it.

Summing up the results of my visit to Pakistan—and I am satisfied with this visit—I see them in the fact that we now have incomparably greater mutual understanding on the key questions of an Afghan settlement than before.

Our talks with the Pakistani leadership also touched on bilateral relations. Soviet-Pakistani trade and economic links have good potential for further deepening and broadening. We had good traditions and they must be brought back to life.

Taking into consideration the desires expressed by the Pakistani side, the Soviet Union is ready to conduct matters in such a way that our economic and scientific-technical cooperation move toward qualitatively new horizons. I wish to report to you that, taking this request into account, the Soviet Union has found the possibility of rendering assistance to Pakistan in extending the capacity of the metallurgical works at Karachi to up to 3 million tonnes of steel annually. It has also been envisaged to grant the Pakistani government the appropriate volumes of credit for these purposes.

A positive attitude is also being taken in Moscow to holding specific talks with Pakistani organizations on a number of other new cooperation projects. These are the development of deposits of iron ore and phosphates, the construction of an earth dam at Mirani, geological prospecting work for oil and gas, and the reconstruction of the machine-tool works in Karachi. Soviet organizations have already confirmed in advance their readiness to take part in implementing the majority of these projects.

A number of other long-term cooperation projects, including the future expansion of the "Multan" thermal power plant, the construction of the "Jamshoro" thermal power plant, and a hydroelectric power station, are being examined by Soviet and Pakistani organizations.

There are also interesting ideas about the Soviet Union's participation on a wider scale in solving Pakistan's energy problems.

Questions of our bilateral trade and economic cooperation could be discussed in detail during the planned visit to the USSR of Raja Shahid Zafar, Pakistan's minister of state for production, which is to take place in March 1989.

In Moscow the question of setting up a Soviet-Pakistani intergovernmental commission for trade and economic and scientific and technical cooperation is being examined. Such a commission would act as a mechanism regulating economic and technical relations between our two countries in the long term, and would permit bilateral ties to be protected from the unfavorable impact of the state of the world market.

It would also be possible to map out such spheres in our cooperation as tourism, sea transportation, culture, and sport, and it seems to me that our cooperation in the sphere of scientific research and in training and improving the qualifications of cadres is also very promising.

We reached agreement with the leadership of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, with Mr Yaqub Khan, on stepping up [aktivizirovat] contacts between foreign ministries and giving consideration to drawing up a protocol on consultations between the two departments.

I was pleased to become acquainted with the country's president, Mr Gulam Ishaq Khan, and with Mrs Benazir Bhutto, the prime minister, and to meet once again with my colleague, Mr Yaqub Khan.

As you already know, we conveyed to Pakistan's president, prime minister, and foreign minister invitations to visit the Soviet Union at a time convenient for them.

It was extremely interesting for me to obtain information firsthand about the country, in what, for it, is a new stage in its development. I think that the realization of the platform formulated by Pakistan's prime minister will also depend largely on the successful solution of the problems forming the focal point of our talks, particularly on a political solution to the Afghan problem.

E.A. Shevardnadze then answered correspondents' questions.

Question: You mentioned that Soviet troops have left Kabul. That is good news. Could you not tell us the number of casualties among Soviet troops in the past 9 years?

Answer: We have already named the figure—up to 15,000 men killed.

Question: You speak of the moral and juridical obligations of the Soviet Union toward Afghanistan. In this connection could you say something about the mines which have been laid by the Soviet Union on the territory of Afghanistan?

Answer: Mines in Afghanistan have been laid not only by Soviet troops. Charts of the minefields laid by us have been handed over to the Afghan authorities. Soviet troops have carried out a huge amount of mine clearance work.

As for the mines laid by various gangs fighting among themselves and against the government, here the situation is more complicated.

I think some kind of all-Afghan program is needed, perhaps under the aegis of the Agha Khan. Yesterday I discussed this question with him.

Mine clearance is not a simple question. Knowledge and experience are needed. We are prepared to take an active part in mine clearance, and also to train Afghans to do this.

Question: So-called "good Muslims" from Kabul have been invited to the session of the Consultative Council—the "Shura"—to take place in a few days' time. Does the Soviet Union agree with such terminology, and will it assist in their attending the session?

Answer: The Soviet Union does not determine the proportion of representation in the Consultative Council. But we consider that this Council will be able to operate effectively only if all groups of Afghan society, including also representatives of the present Afghan regime, are ensured a fair share in it. This is the essential thing.

In general, we have from the very beginning supported the idea of convocation of a Consultative Council which, incidentally, originated in Pakistan.

Question: During your talks with the Pakistani side you expressed grievances about the nonfulfillment by Pakistan of several clauses of the Geneva agreements. What was the reaction by Pakistan? Did any great hope appear for the return of Soviet prisoners of war, as it is well known that several are being held on Pakistani territory?

Answer: The question of violations was discussed, but not in detail. This was because reports have been made to the United Nations Organization and its secretary general on all instances of violations, and unfortunately there have been very many of them, including direct and open interference. Several dozen such representations have been made. I handed over to the Pakistani leaders a plan of the locations of the bases and training posts of the Afghan armed opposition, which in accordance with the Geneva agreements should have been dismantled long ago. This plan shows clearly that the violations are continuing. I expressed the confidence that these violations would be brought to an end.

In our talks with the Pakistani leaders we concentrated our main attention on the political aspects of the settlement, on how to achieve fulfillment of all the points of the Geneva agreements.

As for the question of prisoners of war, you are very well aware how worried our country is about the soldiers and officers who have fallen into this situation. I must say that the Pakistani leadership with whom I raised this question, and in a very specific, detailed and principled way, promised their full assistance. I do not doubt the sincerity of their assurances. We agreed to hold further consultations in order to work out practical steps for the release of Soviet prisoners of war.

Question: Is it true, sir, that political prisoners are being transferred from Afghanistan to the territory of the Soviet Union at the current time so that the USSR should have better positions at the talks on the release of Soviet prisoners of war?

Answer: All talk of prisoners being transferred from Afghanistan to the Soviet Union are inventions, and have no foundation. I guarantee that such a thing is ruled out in the future, too, since it goes against all the principles of the new political way of thinking.

Question: You did not meet the leaders of the mujahidin, as you wished. What prevented this?

Answer: I never said I wanted to meet the mujahidin. Neither did the other side make any demands for such a meeting. As for a dialogue between representatives of the Soviet Union and the mujahidin, it is being conducted almost on a permanent basis. First Deputy Foreign Minister Yu.M. Vorontsov was appointed ambassador of the USSR in Afghanistan with all the relevant plenipotentiary powers. It is well known that he has already met representatives of the "Alliance of Seven." He is now in Tehran, and has also had contacts with representatives of the mujahidin. In addition, he has had a meeting with Zahir Shah, the former king of Afghanistan. I would also not have rejected a meeting with the mujahidin, but this question did not arise.

Question: You said that Pakistan has given assurances that it is striving for a political settlement in Afghanistan. Does this mean that Pakistan has pledged to end supplies of weapons to the mujahidin?

Answer: You recall the proposal by M.S. Gorbachev at the 43d UN General Assembly session on stopping the supply of weapons on a bilateral or trilateral basis. Unfortunately, this idea did not receive the support of either Pakistan or the United States. But we have not lost hope, and will work to get this proposal implemented.

Question: What are the priority directions of Soviet policy to achieve a political and diplomatic settlement of the Afghan problem?

Answer: I would not start to indicate priorities now. I believe that if a consultative council is formed on the principles of just representation, its work will bear results. But if the principle of justice is violated, it is hard to count on success. And then another idea will come to the fore: The convening of an international conference on Afghanistan, which was put forward at the UN General Assembly by M.S. Gorbachev. In addition, there is a need for the UN Secretary General to become more actively involved in an Afghan settlement.

Question: What kind of numerical representation of the PDPA in the consultative council do you advocate? If your approach to this question is not satisfied, what will you do?

Answer: Talks on this should be conducted with the PDPA. I cannot say how many—200, 100—people from the PDPA should be in the consultative council. I am not a representative of the PDPA. But it should be borne in mind that the PDPA is a reality. It is not a question of whether we like the PDPA or not. It is the most influential force in today's Afghanistan, in Afghan society. It is unjust to ignore this real force.

Question: Now that nearly all the Soviet troops have withdrawn from Afghanistan, what do you think about their initial mission in Afghanistan? Under what circumstances could one imagine their reappearance in Afghanistan?

Answer: We are not thinking about that. We do not think it will be necessary to send the troops back in. We do not want that option.

Question: With the exception of the announcement that the Soviet troops have been withdrawn from Kabul, everything you have said at this news conference is essentially a repetition of the known Soviet position. Taking this into account, why are you here, why did you come to Pakistan?

Answer: Sometimes repetition, too, is not unhelpful. Repetition is the mother of learning. I have already said that the Pakistan leadership and I reached agreement on the joint statement. It is very important that the line on a political settlement of the Afghan question has been clearly and firmly agreed precisely at this crucial stage in the history of Afghanistan, since the situation in Afghanistan is changing qualitatively. In view of the withdrawal of the Soviet troops, a new situation has evolved in Afghanistan. The meeting and consultations with the Pakistan leadership were made necessary. So I do not accept your reproaches.

Question: Concerning the fulfillment of your obligations to Afghanistan according to existing treaties: How will the fulfillment of these obligations be effected in the future? More specifically: General Gromov said recently that the use of Soviet aircraft on Afghan targets will cease 15 February. Is this an absolute guarantee, or does this depend on the course of events, on circumstances?

Answer: For us, the Geneva agreements, which forbid any interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, represent the most important document, on the basis of which we act. This relates to the Soviet UNion, Pakistan, and the United States, which also acts as a guarantor. As to how our obligations which emerge from agreements signed earlier will be implemented, time will tell.

Question: You said that your representative has been meeting Zahir Shah. Why has he been meeting him?

Answer: Our representative has been meeting with the "Alliance of Seven," and not only with its representative, but with almost all the leaders, with ther "Alliance of Eight." And why should he not have held meetings with Zahir Shah? So far as I am acquainted with the situation in Afghanistan, Zahir Shah has certain support among Afghan society. Why should we ignore him? For this reason, meetings have been held with him.

Question: Are you aware that in literally 4 days' time the consulative "shura" meeting will start, and that two groups you have named—the PDPA and the supporters of Zahir Shah, will not be represented there? What is your view on this?

Answer: I regret this.

Question: You said that you did not meet the mujahidin because they did not request it. Are you not sorry that such a meeting did not take place?

Answer: No. To speak frankly, I didn't really have the time for it. And since a permanent dialogue is being conducted with the mujahidin—on our side the participant is Comrade Vorontsov, first deputy minister and ambassador of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan—there was no urgent necessity for me to meet the mujahidin.

Question: there is a theory that your demand for the indispensable participation of the PDPA in the future Afghan government is to be explained by your devotion to communist theory, to communist principles. Could we have your comment on this, please.

Answer: It is not we who are insisting on the participartion of the PDPA. It is the PDPA which quite justifiably claims its right to take part in the future Afghan Government. We stopped acting on behalf of other parties and other states long ago. To a certain extent we are now fulfilling a meditory function. But it is a noble mission.

Question: You have said nothing about the introduction of martial law in Afghanistan. Reports have appeared about this today. What can you say on this subject?

Answer: So far I have no information on this subject. But even if such a thing does happen, it is the internal business of Afghanistan.

Vorontsov Concludes 'Constructive' Talks in Tehran
PM0702110589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Feb 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Meetings in Tehran"]

[Text] Feb 6—Yu.M. Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister and USSR ambassador to Afghanistan, in Tehran for talks on the Afghan peace settlement, was received today by Iranian President Khamene'i.

In the course of an in-depth discussion the Soviet side confirmed the persistent need to urgently take all steps to ensure that, following the completion of the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan in the near future, an internal Afghan settlement is implemented by peaceful political and democratic means alone, with the participation of all the country's political forces. Afghanistan's neighbors can do a great deal in this respect by giving the Afghan political groupings good advice, so as to prevent bloodshed and a protracted civil war. The main aim now—the creation of a government of national unity in Afghanistan on a broad basis, as recommended in the UN General Assembly resolution—can only be achieved peacefully.

President Khamene'i for his part stated Iran's adherence to the idea of a peaceful political settlement in Afghanistan. He firmly opposed further bloodshed in that country and said that the Iranian side is insistently advising its friends in Afghanistan to use peaceful means alone to settle the situation in the country. The president also advocated that Afghanistan's neighbors—the USSR, Iran, Pakistan, and the PRC—continue to consult closely on how to help the people of Afghanistan secure the earliest possible peace settlement and further economic development for their country.

At the same time talks continued at the Iranian Foreign Ministry on the problems of an Afghan settlement.

The Soviet side stressed that the process of an internal Afghan settlement may fail to produce positive results if the opposition, in the shape of the "Alliance of Seven" and the "Alliance of Eight," continues trying to act outside the Afghan Government and base its own plans on the exclusion of the current regime's representatives from the country's political life. This short-sighted policy can only lead to further outbreaks of bloodshed and fresh suffering for the Afghans.

The sides agreed on the need to devote the maximum effort to bringing together the opposing Afghan sides' approaches to the questions of an internal Afghan settlement and to continuing the Soviet-Iranian exchange of opinions on Afghan problems.

The conversations took place in a constructive vein and facilitated a rapprochement in Soviet and Iranian positions on a peace settlement in Afghanistan.

Yu.M. Vorontsov left Tehran for Moscow 6 February.

Continuing Pullout From Afghanistan Reported

Scenes of Withdrawal Described
PM0302134189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Feb 89 First Edition p 1

[Special correspondents Lieutenant Colonel I. Yesyutin, Lieutenant Colonel A. Oliynik dispatch: "The Columns Are Moving North. Reportage From the Headquarters of the Limited Contingent of Soviet Forces in Afghanistan"]

[Text] Life is especially busy at the headquarters of the limited contingent of Soviet forces in Afghanistan at present. All its subdivisions and services are operating in the alert duty mode. The working rhythm of the "brain center" of this complex army organism can be felt especially clearly in the subdivisions of the combat directorate. All operational information from units and subunits of the limited contingent of Soviet forces converges here. Details of interaction with units of the Afghan Armed Forces, combat aircraft, and artillery are finalized here. The headquarters are, of course, equipped with everything necessary to transmit within seconds an urgent order to the troops, provide fire support for a column of vehicles or a guard post that has come under attack, or contact any commander anywhere in Afghanistan wherever he may be.

Together with Colonel D. Turlays we enter one of the headquarters offices. The walls are covered with drawings of itineraries and large-scale maps of Afghanistan with marked "hot spots"—bases and main troop concentration areas of the armed opposition.

As you can see, Daynis Antonovich says, pointing to the markings, virtually all our garrisons are on the move, as the saying goes.

The most difficult and dangerous route leads through the high-altitude Salang pass. It is difficult to negotiate even in summer, and now, when the slopes are covered with

vast amounts of snow, when the road is icy and avalanches are coming down, it is doubly difficult. Nonetheless, the biggest threats are booby traps and enemy fire. The armed gangs of Ahmad Shah Masud's grouping have been threatening the areas along the road for a long time. It is no accident that the route through the Salang is the focus of special attention at the headquarters of the limited contingent of Soviet forces. At specific intervals reports are received here on the situation on the road from column commanders and guard posts, and coordinates of fire positions are reported instantly....

0825—the end of the column of engineering and sapper subunits has passed through Jabal os Saraj. We are proceeding in accordance with the timetable. We have not come under fire or been attacked....

Lieutenant Colonel V. Cheshkov, the shift senior duty officer, without putting down the receiver, quickly finds the right spot on the column's route and enters the time.

Understood. Have a good journey, he says briefly.

The column, consisting of 97 units of engineering hardware, traveling north from Charikar where it had been stationed, is getting close to the Soviet border. The column's senior officer, Colonel G. Belous, Order of the Red Star, reports: There is no enemy fire. The road clearance detachment is approaching the road tunnel, clearing snowdrifts and avalanches from the way. There are no losses among the personnel.

0903—Salang is on the line. Senior Lieutenant A. Zhukov, communications duty officer, has called the command post of the guards parachute assault regiment at our request. It is difficult to recognize the familiar voice of Hero of the Soviet Union Guards Colonel V. Vostrotin. The voice sounds hollow—he has a cold.

We already know that 23 January at midday near the village Qal'eh-ye Tak the chief of staff of one of the regiment's battalions Guards Major Oleg Aleksandrovich Yurasov, a Communist who was awarded two Orders of the Red Star, was killed.

"On that day," Vostrotin relates, "a reconnaissance group from our regiment surrounded a gang headed by Karim. The gang leader resorted to trickery. Using civilians as cover, he made out that his gang was surrendering. The rebels, their hands up, advanced under a white flag. Guards Major Yurasov stepped forward to meet them half-way to parley. Suddenly there was a burst of gunfire...."

Lieutenant Colonel Cheshkov shows us the summary of losses for yesterday on the Salang pass. Four wounded, one officer and three men. And lower down: "Some 600 civilians have been evacuated from the combat operation area on the Salang pass. A camp has been set up, fuel and food have been supplied, and casualties have been given medical assistance....

1055—Lieutenant Colonel N. Lapshin, having checked the fire attack schedule, contacts an artillery command post and says: "Confirm fire on specified areas...." (Ahmad Shah Masud's main bases).

The decision of the Soviet military command in Afghanistan to embark on joint combat operations with the units of the Afghan Army against Masud's armed gangs was a difficult one. Within the framework of the policy of national reconciliation, representatives of the command of the limited contingent of Soviet forces and the Soviet Embassy in Afghanistan, after agreement with the Afghan Government, entered into contact with Masud and other "field commanders." Specifically, it was proposed that rebel detachments should guard a section of the road on the southern Salang, having signed an agreement to this effect with the local authorities. If this option did not suit them, it was proposed that they should not hamper units of the Afghan army from reinforcing guard posts and encampments along the road. Masud rejected both proposals, threatened reprisals against representatives of people's power, and stepped up attacks on Afghan columns carrying grain for the population of Kabul. In these circumstances the authorities notified the local population of the need to leave the areas of possible combat operations. Unfortunately, only part of the population living in the area of the Salang pass left their homes. On 23 January at 0630 hours in the morning the Afghan Army, with the support of subunits of the limited contingent of Soviet forces, opened fire on Ahmad Shah's detachments. A statement published by the main command of the Afghan Armed Forces points out that this was a retaliatory strike in response to the rebels' misdeeds. In recent times alone, members of opposition formations burned down 89 vehicles and detained 517 state and private vehicles in order to plunder them, killing many drivers and passengers.

1115—representative of an operational group of the limited contingent of Soviet forces stationed at Qandahar airfield, Colonel A. Maslennikov, reports: "Ammunition has been exploding at the Afghan Army 7th Infantry Division depots for more than 3 hours now. According to preliminary information more than 500 tonnes of munitions have been destroyed. The cause of the fire—sabotage...."

The situation in Qandahar Province, which our forces left in August of last year, sounded alarming. Units of the 2d Army Corps under the command of Lieutenant General N. Ulyumi were contantly engaged in combat operations. Many areas around Qandahar were controlled by "irreconcilables" and roads leading to the city were blocked. The city and the military garrison were in dire need of material supplies and munitions. Our Afghan friends asked for assistance. This was granted. Military transport aircraft carrying supplies were dispatched from Shindand to Qandahar. An air bridge was

established. In order to ensure the safety of the Qandahar airfield, an operational staff group headed by Lieutenant Colonel A. Chesakov arrived here. The airfield guard was mounted, together with Afghan servicemen, by Warrant Officer Ye. Kutepov, Guards Senior Sergeant A. Skryga, and Guards Sergeant S. Luchinovich.... The air bridge established by military transport pilots functioned without interruption. Yet the airfield was being systematically shelled and landing aircraft frequently came under fire. Despite this, military transport aviation pilots delivered hundreds of tonnes of munitions within a short time. A considerable proportion of what was flown in with such difficulty has been destroyed.

The shift senior duty officer conveys the alarming report from Qandahar to Commander Lieutenant General B. Gromov. A difficult task....

1630—the installation of Afghan servicemen at Soviet encampments and guard posts has been completed. The purpose of this operation was the handover of the guard posts.

1710—some 15 km northwest of Shindand an infantry combat vehicle is blown up by a landmine. One man killed, three injured. Their names are being established....

1735—Major A. Zarubin, aviation duty officer, receives a report on the arrival of yet more Il-76 aircraft with flour from Tashkent. The special grain transportation flights were carried out by Military Pilots First Class Majors G. Grishkin, A. Panfilov, and A. Ushakov. Thousands of tonnes of flour have been flown in from Tashkent, Fergana, and Chimkent. There were 10-15 flights per day.

1810—the sappers' column road clearance detachment has made it through the Salang pass. No vehicles left behind, no losses....

In the brief moments between the reception and processing of combat information, we learn only the most general of details about the officers on duty. They are people with combat experience. All of them have been in Afghanistan for at least a year and some of them are here for the second time around. Lieutenant Cheshkov is a former tankman. He has frequently been in combat action with subunits and was awarded the Order of the Red Star. Lieutenant Colonel Lapshin is an artillery man; he comes from Belorussia. All his thoughts now, just like those of many other men serving in Afghanistan, are concerned with his family, his home. "My sons' letters literally make my heart leap," Nikolay Aleksandrovich confides to us. "The older, Alesha, is just completing a vocational technical school. He has passed his practical training and was awarded a scroll of honor and a valuable gift. The younger, Sergey, keeps inviting me in every letter to his birthday party. His birthday is 26 February. If only we could make it...."

2000—we are leaving the command post. In parting, the senior shift officer acquaints us with the summary report for the past 24 hours: 27 Soviet and Afghan military columns are on the move on Afghan roads. By evening they all reached their preset destinations or are concentrated in allocated areas under the reliable guard of the forces.

The stream of military columns is swelling with every passing day....

Clashes, Casualties, Violations

LD0402134589 Moscow TASS in English 1330 GMT 4 Feb 89

[Text] Kabul February 4 TASS—The opposition's armed formations bombarded security posts in the Rudat, Sorhrud, [names as received] and Deh Bala districts of the Nangarhar Province in the past 24 hours, the BAKHTAR news agency reported. There are neither army nor civilian casualties. Afghan artillery made a retaliatory strike on rebels in the area of Saroubi. Six extremists were killed and five wounded.

Nine gunmen from the Islamic Party of Afghanistan (IPA) were killed in combat actions in the Samarkhel [name as received] and Behsud Districts. Afghan warplanes bombed rebel positions in the Daman district in retaliation for the bombardment of the airport in Qandahar. According to preliminary date, 10 extremists were killed. Armed clashes between opposition groups of different political orientation are continuing.

The Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Afghanistan has sent the 205th note to the U.N. observers mission in Kabul, citing Pakistan's violations of the Geneva agreements.

Felix Ermacora, special reporter of the U.N. Commission on Human Rights, recently in Kabul, was received by Afghanistan's Minister of State Security Ghulam Faruq Ya'qubi, Minister of the Interior Muhammad Aslam Watanjar, chairman of the National Front's Central Council Abddul Rahim Hatif, on February 3. Questions of observance of human rights in Afghanistan and also the situation in the country were discussed.

'Irreconcilable' Rebels Fight On

LD0502101589 Moscow TASS in English 0947 GMT 5 Feb 89

[Text] Kabul February 5 TASS—By TASS correspondent Andrey Greshnov:

The irreconcilable Afghan opposition shelled the districts of Rudat [name as received] and Kameh in Nangarhar Province and security posts in the districts of Garbaz [name as received], Jaji Meydan, Faqur and Teri Za'i in Paktia Province on Saturday.

The BAKHTAR news agency reported that two Afghan Army servicemen were wounded.

The enemy sustained tangible losses in manpower and materiel as a result of a retaliatory artillery strike delivered by the government troops in Nangarhar Province. Dozens of reinforced insurgent positions were destroyed by the Afghan Army in the Daman District, Qandahar Province, and a major arms and ammunition cache belonging to the insurgents was also seized. More than 20 rebels were killed in the Pashtun Zarghun District in Herat Province.

The Kabul-Jalalabad road remains open for traffic.

Opposition groups of various political orientation continue to clash in the 'Alisheng District in Laghman Province. Three were killed on Saturday as a result of clashes between detachments of the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan" and "The Movement for Islamic Revolution of Afghanistan".

The Afghan Foreign Ministry sent its 206th note to the U.N. observers' mission in Kabul, citing new facts of Pakistani violations of the Geneva accords.

Felix Ermacora, special envoy of the U.N. Commission for Human Rights, has visited the Kabul central prison of Pol-e Charkhi to see how the prisoners were being treated. He also visited an International Red Cross hospital and the Indira Gandhi children's hospital.

Ermacora had a meeting with Afghan Deputy Foreign Minister Muhammad Faruq Karmand.

Kabul 'Practically' Under Martial Law

LD0502152789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 5 Feb 89

[Text] As is known, the Afghan capital has practically gone over to martial law [prakticheski pereshla na voyennoye polozheniye]. This step was taken since, with the start of the pull-out of Soviet military units from Kabul, tension here has increased. Twenty thousand PDPA members who gathered for a mass rally in Kabul today declared their determination to defend the revolutionary gains of recent years and to defend the city from its enemies. Najibullah, president of the Republic of Afghanistan, spoke at the meeting.

[Moscow Tass International Service in Russian at 1650 GMT on 5 February in a report on the situation in Kabul says: "Kabul is in fact under martial law (Kabul faktycheski Nakhoditsya na voyennom polozhenii).]

Population Mainly 'Well Disposed'

PM0502180489 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Special correspondent N. Sautin report "from the border" under the rubric "Termez on the Line": "Over the River Is Afghanistan"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] What is the military situation in Balkh Province? Our army columns' route passes through here. Lieutenant Colonel V. Petrov answers this question—his guard posts and units are involved in ensuring a safe passage for the troops.

"The situation in the province as a whole is stable and normal," the officer says. "We do not expect any instances of hostile actions by the armed opposition in the period of withdrawal. The local population is categorically opposed to the actions of bandits who could start fights with our units. They can see that we are rigorously fulfilling the Geneva agreements.

"And another thing: We are continuing to give free assistance with all types of material supplies, from bread to vehicles, fuel, and ammunition. On the whole the local population is well disposed toward us. Especially since the temporary occupation of Konduz, when ordinary civilians experienced the attitude of the military opposition toward the city dwellers, the atrocities, the looting...."

"And what about the mood of the Afghan Army servicemen?"

"They will fight to the end, and will not allow the rebels into the city." [passage omitted]

...All our military medical institutions have already left Afghanistan. The sick and wounded are being taken to Termez hospital, which has now become a front-line hospital, by plane, helicopter, and motor transport. On the night that I visited the hospital, nine servicemen had just been brought in by helicopters with combat cover. Three have typhoid and one has appendicitis. The others have combat wounds. Before beginning on the night operations that he has grown used to, Lieutenant Colonel of Medical Services V. Baturin, chief surgeon at the hospital, told me:

"My main patients are drivers from motorized battalions. They get blown up by mines. And there are firearm wounds: shrapnel and bullet wounds. Last year 496 operations were carried out in our surgical department. Nearly all were emergency operations—that is, straight to the operating table. A medical reinforcements group has been set up for the troops' withdrawal. In serious cases Colonel of Medical Services V. Kostenko, chief surgeon of the Turkestan Military District, acts as consultant. Traumatologist A. Teplov and surgeon V. Vishnin have arrived from Moscow, from the Burdenko Hospital." [passage omitted]

Kabul 'Still Quiet'

PM0602165189 Mosco IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Report from Termez by IZVESTIYA special correspondent N. Sautin: "Hello, Homeland!"]

[Excerpts] Time: 1100 hours, 6 February. At Friendship Bridge on our side of the Amu-Darya dozens of Soviet and foreign journalists are waiting for the lead vehicle of the convoy returning from Afghanistan to appear. The welcoming party includes the fathers, wives, and mothers of those who are now covering the final section of the way through the narrow streets of the Afghan border town of Hayraton. [passage omitted]

What is the situation in Kabul at the moment? APN correspondent Igor Morozov has returned with the army column from the Afghan capital. He first went to Afghanistan as an internationalist soldier 4 years ago. Then he went back again—as a journalist.

"We have no troops in Kabul any more. But everything is still quiet in the city. The few remaining Soviet journalists have gone to the embassy," the unshaven reporter, frost-bitten in the Hindu Kush, said. "I saw Lieutenant General Gromov, the Army commander. The headquarters of our limited contingent is now located in Balkh Province. The gangs are giving no trouble. Gromov himself could be the last of our troops to leave Afghanistan."

Units withdrawn from across the border have handed in their ammunition and are now resting. They will then be sent to various military districts in the country.

The withdrawal of troops continues.

Correspondent Describes Pullout

LD0602191989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 6 Feb 89

[Aleksandr Zhetvin Report]

[Text] [Zhetvin] Let me start this part of our broadcast with an important event—the final stage of the withdrawl of Soviet troops from Afghan territory. This stage began today. Vladimir Bezyayev, our special correspondent, has just been put through to us, reporting from the town of Termez on the Soviet border with Afghanistan. Vladimir?

[Bezyayev] Good evening. How are you receiving me?

[Zhetvin] Good evening, we are receiving you well. Tell us about the situation, what is happening where you are, on the border?

[Bezyayev] Well, all in all, the whole day was packed with events indeed. Already yesterday I reported that there were some 150 foreign journalists here and just as many Soviet journalists. All of them were meeting the boys who have reached the borders. A meeting was held today and it is difficult to say whether or not it was a festive meeting, but it is today, precisely today, that the final stage of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the territory of the Republic of Afghanistan began, so as to complete all this by 15 February. The airborne assault troops, a part of the Kabul garrison have come out—there are no more Soviet troops in Kabul.

[Zhetvin] The last soldiers left Kabul yesterday.

[Bezyayev] Yes, and as we verified today, Soviet soldiers remain in five Afghan provinces in all. I think that my report would be incomplete without a commentary by a specialist and so, if you do not mind, I would like to offer you a recording of an interview. I recorded Major General (Strebnin), who is deputy chief of the political directorate of the Turkestan military district, a man who is in the know, so listen to what he has to say.

[Begin recording] [(Strebnin)] One can say that the withdrawal of the troops is being carried out in strict accordance with the Geneva accords and that all the details of these agreements are being observed by our side. The final stage of the withdrawal of troops begins today. A majority of them are already on our native Soviet soil. People have fulfilled their duty. Some have been discharged, others continue in service. Today's withdrawal begins the final stage, which will be completed strictly in accordance with the set timeframe, so that on 15 February all Soviet troops will be on our territory.

[Bezyayev] Many parents are here, and naturally they are worried about how their children are faring, and they are worried about whether trouble, such as finding themselves under fire, might not yet be ahead of them. What, then, is the information on this score?

[(Strebnin)] All in all, the troop movement is proceeding in an organized fashion; not that there are no incidents on the roads, but in any case, there are no casualties yet.

[Bezyayev] Fortunately. Well, there was also much talk that there are very complicated weather conditions at the Salang Pass. What can you say about this?

[(Strebnin)] Yes, snow avalanches have been registered there, coming down from the mountains. The passage of equipment is made more difficult. The road surface must be made ready, cleared, which involves the melting of ice, and this must be done prior to letting the columns through, so that they may pass.

[Bezyayev] One more question. It is, after all, no secret that columns are on their way not only from the territory of Afghanistan, but also to Afghanistan. What are our trucks carrying?

[(Strebnin)] They are carrying foodstuffs, in accordance with the Afghan Government's request. We are now laying in stocks of food for Kabul and for other major administrative centers. Columns reach Kabul where they are unloaded. Equipment is handed over to our Afghan friends; people then return home to us, I mean our drivers and administrative staff attending the columns.

[Bezyayev] Thank you very much

[(Strebnin)] Not at all. [end recording]

[Zhetvin] Vladimir?

[Bezyayev] Yes, yes, yes, Aleksandr.

[Zhetvin] Well, thank you for this interview, for this chat. In my view the general painted the picture clearly and precisely. I would just like to say this: You will stay there, on the border, throughout the whole week of the withdrawal?

[Bezyayev] Even longer, until 15 February. I would now like to add just one more thing, a tiny feature....

[Zhetvin, interrupting] Presently, but wait just a moment; let me finish. This is the request: Let everyone listen to the voices of our boys who have just emerged from this hell, from this most complex of situations, and who are returning home, for the future, okay?

[Bezyayev] Without fail, we will have them, our boys, too. Let me tell you that today armored personnel carriers and mechanized infantry combat vehicles were leaving with bouquets of carnations stuck in their barrels. You will understand the mood of these boys, what they are thinking about, what they are talking about. This is all for today. I hope that tomorrow morning I will be able to describe in greater detail those who are arriving.

[Zhetvin] Well, thank you. Until we meet on the air again.

Communists Will 'Defend' Country

LD0602212189 Moscow TASS in English 1917 GMT 6 Feb 89

[Text] Kabul February 6 TASS—The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and its political allies who are in the vanguard of the fighters for the bright future of the Afghan people are prepared to defend on their own the country's sovereignty and territorial integrity, peace and security of its citizens, Daud Razmyar, secretary of the Kabul City Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, said in an interview to the newspaper PAYAM.

He said that more than 12,000 members of the party and members of the Democratic Youth Organization of Afghanistan underwent crash courses of military training in the Afghan capital. Over 40,000 youths voluntarily joined the Armed Forces in the current Afghan year (March 1988-March 1989) to protect the gains of the people's power from the encroachments of Afghanistan's enemies. It is characteristic that over 2,000 among these young people are members of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan.

As many as 338 security posts function in Kabul now, Daud Razmyar said. 2,030 party members are among the fighters staffing these posts. Home guard units have been set up to protect 244 facilities of the national economy against subversive acts of extremists. Members of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, of the Democratic Youth Organisation of Afghanistan and of trade unions form the backbone of home guard units. As many as 1,800 party members are in home guard units formed in various districts, Daud Razmyar said in conclusion.

Afghan Rebels Shell Khowst

LD0702091789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0835 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] Kabul, 7 (TASS)—In the last 24 hours groups among the irreconciliable opposition have used heavy artillery to shell Khowst and a number of population centers in Nangarhar Province. Dozens of mines and rockets have fallen on Qandahar Airport.

Afghan Army soldiers struck back against groups of the rebels. As the BAKHTAR agency reported, 11 members of the opposition were killed and 5 were injured near Qandahar Airport. A cache of arms and ammunition was seized. Afghan aircraft struck rebel positions in Enjil District in Herat Province. According to a report by an official representative of the Afghan Armed Forces, four extremists were killed and several rebels were seriously wounded.

Subunits of government troops carried out an operation to eliminate a large armed opposition group in Konduz Province. Ten fighters from the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan" were killed in the region of Achin and Hazrat-e Soltan.

The Afghan foreign minister has sent note No 208 to the UN observers mission in Kabul. The document cites new violations by Pakistan of the clauses of the Geneva agreements.

The SRV Embassy has donated a check for $280,000 to the Afghan people, as part of the aid being provided to Afghanistan by various states and international organizations.

Herat Province Units Head Home

PM0702110989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
7 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Own correspondent V. Kuleshov report: "Home Via Kushka"]

[Text] Kushka—Subunits of the Soviet troops stationed in Afghanistan's Herat Province have crossed the USSR border in the region of Kushka.

"So far the supply units have returned to the motherland: a motor transport battalion, army exchange organizations, and construction workers," political worker A. Bocharov said. "Some of them are going to be disbanded right away. Others are headed for permanent stationing areas. Over the next few days—right up to 15 February—other subunits will also be returning home. Some of them will be moved by helicopter and aircraft."

USSR Not 'Indifferent' to Future of Afghanistan

PM0702115989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
7 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Yevgeniy Bay article under the rubric "On This Week's Events": "We Have Waited 9 Years For This"]

[Text] During these hours columns of our troops are crossing the Salang Pass on their way home. On Sunday the last Soviet soldier left Kabul. The week for which we have waited so long had begun.

But the coming week will be important not only for our servicemen, impatiently awaited at home. The two opposing sides are left face to face in Afghanistan.

An extremely difficult food and fuel situation had taken shape in Kabul a few days ago—children were dying of the cold in the bread lines. The situation has now improved. Thanks to a Kabul-Tashkent airlift a large quantity of flour has been brought into the Afghan capital for the city's residents. However, many Kabul people are still troubled by the question: What will happen in a few days' time, when the last Soviet soldier has left Afghanistan?

The Republic's Armed Forces are preparing for a possible lengthy siege of Kabul, procuring fuel and ammunition, and relocating subunits to regions previously controlled by the Soviet military contingent. But the question remains: What will happen to the peaceful population of Kabul, Qandahar, and Jalalabad if the rebels step up the blockade and if, as previously, they subject residential districts to concentrated rocket fire?

Last week a couple of U.S. Marines took down the Stars and Stripes from the U.S. Embassy building in Kabul. The embassy was closing, and all the diplomats were preparing to leave the country. "We say: Farewell, and God bless America," Interim Charge John Glassman fervently proclaimed and closed the embassy door. "We are going home."

It is the sovereign right of any country to close a diplomatic mission. Yet how are we to evaluate the fact that the U.S. diplomat, speaking in the Indian capital a few days after leaving Kabul, blamed the Soviet Union for the continuing bloodshed? How are we to regard the fact that many Western newspapers are now crammed with irresponsible forecasts that "the Kabul regime will not hold out for even a week after the Soviet troop withdrawal" and "the situation is close to panic"? By artificially fanning an atmosphere of instability and uncertainty the Western press is turning its readers into something like the spectators at Rome's Colosseum, who were rooted to the spot in anticipation of a bloody skirmish.

But Kabul today, suffering from cold and hunger, is not the Roman Colosseum, and, if carnage begins, the victims will be thousands of totally innocent people.

Yes, it is a matter of days until the last Soviet serviceman crosses the bridge over the Amudarya. But the troop withdrawal in itself still does not cut the Afghan knot. A colossal political and diplomatic effort is needed to secure a peaceful solution to the conflict which has already continued for so many years. And this task, USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze emphasized at the talks which have just been held in Pakistan, can only be resolved by all states together, and primarily by the direct parties to the Geneva agreements. Under conditions when no Soviet troops are left in Afghanistan and the stage of an exclusively internal Afghan settlement is beginning, they are obliged to exert maximum effort to end the bloodshed and restore peace in that country. This goal can be achieved only on the basis of national reconciliation and the creation of a government in which all sections of Afghan society are worthily represented.

UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar declared: "I appeal to everyone to show restraint. The time has come to give peace a chance."

Give peace a chance in Afghanistan! This is both an appeal to the Afghans to be aware of the historic significance of the moment and an appeal to the whole world community to do everything possible to ensure that Afghanistan retains its sovereignty, independence, and status as a nonaligned state.

This is precisely how the Soviet Union would like to see Afghanistan, with which it has been linked by bonds of good-neighborliness for decades. The USSR is withdrawing its troops, but this does not mean that we are

distancing ourselves from Afghan problems or are indifferent to how the situation in that country develops. As a guarantor of a political settlement, the Soviet Union intends to continue actively promoting a political settlement in Afghanistan.

Thanks to the efforts of Moscow and Kabul, the door remains open for talks in the interests of achieving this goal.

Afghan Opposition Tactics, U.S. Position Analyzed
LD0502231589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 5 Feb 89

[Text] The day when the last soldier leaves Afghanistan is not far off. He will leave in conformity with the schedule that has been drawn up, demonstrating our country's precise and strict observance of the Geneva agreements. We are receiving reports, as you can see, about the progress of the troops departing in the direction of the Soviet border, where the last one of our men who has performed his internationalist duty with honor is being awaited with impatience in areas of the Soviet Union bordering on Afghanistan. I repeat that this will take place soon, but meanwhile, in Afghanistan itself, hard battles are continuing—battles between units of the Afghan Army and detachments of the armed opposition. Taking advantage of the fact that men of the Soviet Army have left many points in the country, the rebels are now intensifying their armed pressure on the posts and garrisons of the Afghan Army. Attempting to sow panic among the peaceful population, the extremists are continuing their rocket bombardments of towns, including Kabul. They are also carrying out subversive activity on the roads leading to the capital to obstruct deliveries of foodstuffs and fuel for the peaceful residents.

It seems that the extremists are banking on undermining the Kabul regime from within. In doing so, they give plentiful assurances that they do not intend to take the capital by storm, so as to avoid excessive bloodshed among the peaceful population and massive losses of valuable material goods. In my opinion these are dubious assurances for all those people who during the almost 10 years of undeclared war have encountered the actions of the so-called fighters for their faith, who have become renowned for their medieval vandalism and cruelty. I now invite our commentator and my colleague Vladimir Fadeyev, who worked for some years in Afghanistan, to express his opinion about this. Over to you.

[Fadeyev] I think that the hands of the clock that measures time in the history of Afghanistan are already close to the point at which the whole world—and that means you and me, comrades—begins to follow with rapt attention and alarm a fresh spiral in the development of events in that long-suffering country. For Soviet people the pain and alarm for our men will be left behind. We will receive them at home in the motherland, but I do not think that this circumstance will in itself reduce our emotion for the fate of a whole people, our neighbor from ancient times.

Some days ago terrible reports came from Kabul to the effect that children were dying from hunger and cold in lines for flour and fuel. Their deaths and suffering are the direct consequence of the terror of the opposition on the roads. Our government responded immediately to this misfortune. Heavy transport aircraft manned by civilian crews began to deliver foodstuffs to Kabul. Thus the economic blockade was broken, but one wonders whether it will be for long. You see, the aid sent from our country is, as before, in the north, and cannot be delivered to the capital or to other towns without the risk of being seized by the rebels. Now that we are leaving the country this risk will grow immeasurably. Hunger cannot by any means be regarded as retribution against people, irrespective of whether they support the present Kabul regime or come out against it, and it is all the more blasphemous to use it as an instrument for one's plans to seize power. However, the opposition, aware that Kabul cannot be taken just like that, through force of arms, and that the Army will give them a worthy rebuff, are hatching plans for the most intensive exploitation precisely of the economic difficulties that have arisen as a result of the organized blockade.

Thousands of refugees have recently arrived in the city on foot and by transport in search of safety and shelter. Of course, agents of the fifth column have penetrated along with them. They have already begun to operate.

They are buying up foodstuffs wholesale, hoarding them and disseminating antigovernment rumors and leaflets, conducting subversive operations among the soldiers of the Kabul garrison, etc. To be blunt, the overall picture is alarming. Attempts are being made to paint it in even more somber tones by the representatives of certain Western embassies, who hurriedly and demonstratively left Kabul, alleging that they were saving themselves from the imminent disorder and outburst of passions. Thus John Glassman, the U.S. charge d'affaires in Afghanistan, held a press conference in Delhi at which he depicted the situation in Kabul in somber colors, and attempted to place responsibility for the continuing bloodshed on our country.

It must be said that not only was the diplomat condemned there and then by some Indian organizations, but he was also reminded that his country, which is one of the guarantors of the Geneva agreements, ought to have taken up a constructive position long since on the cause of settling the situation around Afghanistan, instead of continuing to supply the rebels with weapons. One might also ask the American diplomat how all his assertions tie in with the fact that the USSR foreign Minister, Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze, is precisely during these days in Islamabad where, among other issues, he is discussing the question of establishing peace in Afghanistan. In my opinion the answer should

be sought in Washington's policy in relation to that country—to be more precise, in its unpreparedness to review it and change it abruptly in connection with the withdrawal of our troops from there. This is also the source of the ill-intentioned and groundless assertions that are continuing by dint of inertia, and which, moreover, untie the hands of the opposition leaders during this period, which is a complex and crucial one for the fate of the Afghan people.

War 'Epitomizes' Brezhnev Foreign Policy Errors
LD0602000689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1500 GMT 5 Feb 89

[From the 'International Panorama' program presented by Stanislav Kondrashov]

[Text] The week I am reviewing falls into the category of events of truly historic significance. It is 2 weeks before 15 February, the date of the complete withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. Counting all the days, from 29 December 1979 to 5 February 1989, I get 3,237. That is how many days and nights our soldiers, who now call themselves "Afghans," have spent on alien soil. Those days are nearly finished. The withdrawal is ahead of schedule. [video shows soldiers boarding aircraft] The soldiers have been leaving Afghanistan by plane, including by those IL-76's which delivered flour and other food to Kabul. It is reported that no Soviet units are left in the area of Kabul. The soldiers have been evacuated in columns of vehicles northward via Salang Pass to Termez, where journalists have already been sent for the ceremonial meeting. [video shows tanks and other vehicles on the move]

Like any epoch-making event, what is taking place before our eyes now is an many-level event. On the first level it brings a feeling of relief, of popular relief, that at last this long military expedition on alien soil has ended, and that Soviet soldiers have stopped shedding their own blood and Afghan blood there. One can just imagine what goes on in the mind of a soldier when he leaves that hell alive and unharmed and crosses the Rechka, as they call the frontier river Amu Darya, onto his native soil. On another level—a rational and not emotional level—there is an analysis of what has happened, lessons to be learned—historical ones and certainly not complimentary, but sober and bitter.

In my view, our war in Afghanistan—war is precisely what the people call it—represents the apotheosis of the negative aspects of the foreign policy of the Brezhnev era, in which a wrong assessment of the domestic situation in another country—in this case the April 1978 coup in Afghanistan—was combined with a delight in armed strength and its use. Here the lesson can be seen in the fact that the difficult Afghan story objectively stimulated the appearance of the new thinking, of new approaches in Soviet foreign policy. In this sense, it is an ill wind that blows no good, although an unwarrantedly high price was paid for the lesson.

And there is another level, one that is vital: an internal Afghan one, but one that concerns us, not our soldiers, about our future relations with the neighboring country. [video shows street scenes in Afghanistan] The bloody strife in Afghanistan is not calming down as some people expected after the signing of the Geneva agreements. On the contrary, it is intensifying and will evidently reach its apogee in the coming weeks. Kabul is essently blockaded by the mujahidin forces. All the attempts by Najibullah's regime, with our help, to reach a political compromise through moderation, through the formation of a new government on the broadest coalition basis, have failed. The question of who will win will, it seems, be decided by armed means, but now without Soviet participation.

Last week Western embassies in Kabul were closing one after the other. [video shows U.S. flag being lowered at U.S. Embassy] On Monday the flag was lowered over the U.S. Embassy. All officials, including Marine guards, flew to Delhi. "We will come back when the conflict is ended," said the head of the U.S. diplomatic mission. The last Frenchmen, Italians, and Britons have left the Afghan capital, and other Westerners have hastened to leave, fearing bloody chaos after the departure of the Soviet troops. In their flight there was also a certain demonstrative element, to aggravate the atmosphere and increase the feeling that chaos is inevitable.

Against this background, Moscow preserved its external calm. A representative delegation led by Comrade Maslyukov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, visited Kabul. Questions of further economic cooperation between the two countries were discussed. There was no end to our diplomatic attempts to make the Afghan opposition and its allies come to their senses, to prompt them with the idea that it is necessary to seek a political settlement, taking into account the interests of the combattant sides and reducing the bloodshed.

Comrade Shevardnadze's visit to Pakistan should be regarded as one of these insistent attempts.

Conflict Resolution 'Depends' Largely on Pakistan
LD0602152189 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 6 Feb 89

[Analysis by Viktor Glazunov, political observer; in Russian with superimposed English translation]

[Text] The last Soviet serviceman has left Kabul. In a few days' time not a single Soviet soldier will be left on Afghan soil. This news is welcomed by every Soviet citizen, because throughout the years of the Afghan conflict we have been looking forward to their coming back home. Our soldiers are leaving Afghanistan, but what will they leave behind, peace? What have thousands of our young people sacrificed their lives for?

As a guarantor of a political settlement, the USSR will continue to do all it can to stop the fratricidal war in Afghanistan and restore peace there on the basis of

gaining national reconciliation and creating a government that would represent all segments of Afghan society. This was emphasized once again during talks held in Pakistan by the Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze. He invited Pakistan to come out with a joint statement calling for a cease-fire and establishing a constructive dialogue between the warring sides. Pakistani officials said they understood the Soviet Union's concern about developments in Afghanistan and expressed willingness to consider Soviet proposals. Let's hope that they will display realism and good will, because much depends on the stand taken by Pakistan as a signatory to the Geneva accords and as a country whose political and material support nurtures the irreconcilable stance of the armed Afghan opposition.

The long years of tragic developments have proved that the Afghan problem cannot be resolved militarily. The quest for unlimited power must have deprived the opposition leaders of their ability to exercise sound judgment. Are new fatalities and new misfortunes needed to make them realize that there is only way [as received] towards peace on Afghan soil, that of overcoming internal contradictions by means of constructive compromises? The Kabul government is ready to make compromises. At a public gathering on Sunday, President Najibullah again called for national reconciliation. There is no alternative to reconciliation except further bloodshed, but this alternative can hardly be described as sensible.

Former Afghan King Reaffirms Desire To Help

LD0702091489 Moscow TASS in English 0851 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] Rome February 7 TASS—Former King of Afghanistan Muhammad Zahir Shah has addressed a message to the Afghan people, reaffirming his readiness to give his country "any assistance without any strings attached," according to the will of his countrymen. This was reported by an official spokesman for the king, who is now residing in Rome.

The ANSA news agency was told by the king's representative that Zahir Shah's message is "a deliberation" on the situation in Afghanistan. It points to the need for "taking in line with Islam principles urgent measures that would help achieve national unity and avoid division, civil war and useless bloodshed."

Zahir Shah called upon all Afghans to exert every effort to strengthen national unity. "In Afghanistan all citizens should be able to participate in the country's rehabilitation in an atmosphere of peace and security, without resorting to pressure, intimidation or discrimination," he said.

East Europe

'Roundtable' Talks Open in Poland 6 Feb

LD0602182389 Moscow TASS in English 1813 GMT 6 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw February 6 TASS—By TASS correspondent Valentin Volkov:

Round-table talks were opened in the Polish capital Monday with the view to searching for ways to overcome the crisis, develop the country economically, and achieve a national accord.

Negotiators include fifty-seven members of the government, trade unions, the Catholic church and the "constructive opposition" which groups representatives of various political trends adhering to constitutional principles and wishing to pool efforts with other forces to solve Poland's problems.

Interior Minister Czeslaw Kiszczak opened the first sitting.

Negotiations to prepare the round-table discussions had been initiated by the Polish United Workers' Party to rally all public forces in the country for implementing profound transformations in Poland's political, social and economic life.

The party's 10th plenum gave new impetus to these negotiations.

The plenum passed decisions on broadening political and trade union pluralism to strengthen the democratic, socialist rule-of-law state and meet people's requirements and desire for civil responsibility.

Walesa Arrives Late for Session

LD0602222489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 6 Feb 89

[Aleksandr Zhetvin report]

[Text] [Zhetvin] Today the first working roundtable session was held in Warsaw. We have already spoken about this on the air. The government and the constructive opposition have begun a dialogue on the most important problems of the country's domestic life. Our correspondent in the Polish People's Republic, Vladimir Mikhaylenko, has only just started work in Warsaw, and now the way it has turned out is that he has only just started. [sentence as heard] Here is the first major event he has to cover. Vladimir, can you hear us?

[Mikhaylenko] I can hear you; it is what they call jumping in at the deep end, is it not?

[Zhetvin] Yes, jumping in at the deep end. But it is a very deep end indeed.

[Mikhaylenko] Yes, it is. I will begin with the fact that before the start of this meeting, about which a great deal is now being written and spoken, the journalists were allowed into the roundtable meeting for the traditional 5- minute session. However, they were in the hall for almost half an hour. Some people are already calling this roundtable a ring, while many are calling today's meeting the first round. The comparison is a figurative one, but in my opinion the sporting terminology is inappropriate

here; what we are talking about, after all, is the very intense, difficult work that has to be done at this table. So, at exactly 1400 Warsaw time, as arranged, the government group of the Polish People's Republic and the representatives of the episcopate of the Polish Catholic Church, who have, of course, assumed the role of mediators, sat down at the table. After this, however, 25 seats at this table remained empty for another quarter of an hour. It was only at 1415 that the delegation from the so-called constructive opposition, led by Lech Walesa, entered the hall.

[Zhetvin] That is, the opposition that commits itself to observing the framework of the Constitution, is it not?

[Mikhaylenko] Yes, it is the opposition that has accepted the government's challenge, let us put it that way.

[Zhetvin] But it operates within the framework of the Constitution.

[Mikhaylenko] Yes, and that is an indispensable condition. Walesa arrived at the meeting in a severe suit, a white shirt, tie, and with a small icon of the Virgin mary on his lapel, but not strictly at the appointed time.

According to the rules, the first working session is to last 3 hours. Taking that late arrival and the time lost into account, obviously it is now only just coming to an end.

There are 59 people at the roundtable of negotiation, 58 men and one woman. They are now faced with discussing the country's most acute and urgent socioeconomic and political problems. It is no secret that for a number of years the opposition blamed the PZPR and its allies for these problems. Last August the opposition was presented with a sort of challenge: Let us decide together how to help matters. It was a challenge they accepted, as you can see. The meeting, the conditions for which took 5 months to agree upon, has begun. However it ends, the very fact that it has been held is already a success, because...

[Zhetvin, interrupting] Vladimir, excuse me, is there a rule about how many days this meeting...

[Mikhaylenko, interrupting] A rule. I will tell you. There are the most diverse forecasts, the longest being 6 weeks. That is understandable because there are more questions than answers.

[Zhetvin] What, 6 weeks of daily meetings?

[Mikhaylenko] Daily meetings; every day Polish radio and televison will record these meetings from beginning to end, and then broadcast them at a suitable time across the whole country. Interest in this meeting is thus very great indeed, and one can even judge by the fact that in literally the last few days, 150 foreign journalists were accredited at the Interpres Agency, before these meetings started.

[Zhetvin] I see.

[Mikhaylenko] Yes. In conclusion, I would like to talk about this: Before the meeting started, strong winds brought rain to Warsaw. One would naturally like these raindrops to irrigate those seeds of the constructive cooperation that will be discussed at these meetings.

[Zhetvin] Well, Vladimir, spring is in the air here. We would like to wish you, too, a spring of renewal, shall we say?

[Mikhaylenko] Thank you very much. There is a need for that in the country.

[Zhetvin] Thank you, thank you. We await new reports from you.

[Mikhaylenko] Good-bye.

[Zhetvin] Good-bye.

Urban News Conference on Session

LD0702122389 Moscow TASS in English 1209 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw February 7 TASS—A press-conference arranged here in connection with the opening of "roundtable" negotiations was addressed by the Polish Government's Press Secretary Jerzy Urban. On behalf of the authorities he expressed satisfaction with the meeting's convocation and with the progress of its plenary meeting. At the same time, he noted the onesidedness of the criticisms voiced at the meeting against the country's past and against the contemporary situation. We, he said, have not heard the opposition's admission of its responsibility for many negative phenomena of past years.

Replying to whether activities and functionaries of "Solidarity", formerly regarded as undesirable partners, would be enlisted in the cooperation process, the government spokesman confirmed that the authorities were parepared to offer their hand to anyone, who really contributed to the country's weal.

The "round table" will continue its work in three panels formed at the plenary meeting. They will get down to business on February 8. The date of the next regular plenary meeting will depend on the results of their work.

PPR's Sekula Holds News Conference on PZPR Plenum

PM0602095189 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 5, 4-10 Feb 89 (Signed to Press 2 Feb 89) p 7

[A. Golub report on Moscow news conference by I. Sekula, Polish vice premier, under the rubric "Firsthand Account": "After a Difficult Discussion"; date not specified; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] A news conference has been given in Moscow by Polish Deputy Premier I. Sekula, during which he gave his impressions on the work of the 10th PZPR Central Committee plenum and answered journalists' questions.

The 10th PZPR Central Committee plenum lasted from 10 December last year to 18 January this year, with a 3-week recess. The first part of the plenum was concerned with internal party issues and the discussion of work style, reorganization of structures, and accuracy of forecasting.

A difficult, intensive discussion developed during the second part of the plenum, which resumed work 16 January.

The discussion reached a particularly high pitch during the last, closed session on the question of forming a sociopolitical system founded on a state of socialist parliamentary democracy, and also when examining the questions of political and trade union pluralism.

The newspaper TRYBUNA LUDU has reported that a number of Central Committee members raised objections to the Politburo's proposed policy of cooperation with constructive Polish opposition forces, including the moderate wing of Solidarity. It reported that W. Jaruzelski took the floor several times to offer convincing arguments in favor of political and trade union pluralism.

The debate reached such a pitch that the head of party and state and several Politburo members with him, including Premier M. Rakowski, General C. Kiszczak, and General F. Siwicki, said they were prepared to resign and asked for a vote of confidence. A vote was taken, during which the Politburo members left the hall. All members of the Central Committee, with the exception of four abstentions, submitted a vote of confidence.

[Unnamed correspondent] How do you explain the differences of opinion on the question of political and trade union pluralism?

[Sekula] If we are talking about political pluralism, I can say that it has been in the process of being established in our party and state for more than a year now and serves as a good basis for consolidating and uniting people with different views and beliefs. Openness and tolerance have been and still are the guarantee of successful work. The plenum extended the formula of political pluralism by defining it as the creation of a socialist state of parliamentary democracy and the recognition of political opposition within the framework of the existing system as an element of the socialist system.

But this point prompted a heated debate. Differences arose during the discussion of trade union pluralism. This is understandable. Everyone still remembers the dramatic events of 1981, when extremist Solidarity circles plunged the country into an abyss of strikes and Poland found itself on the brink of catastrophe. And particularly insofar as reactionary elements are still making their presence felt today, at a time that is on the whole quiet and peaceful. The concern of the Central Committee members was also caused by a hostile offensive launched the day before the second part of the 10th plenum opened. A group of people associated with the underground Solidarity organization stopped work for 2 hours at the large Morcinek pit in an attempt to put pressure on the plenum.

Considering all the positive changes in the direction of national accord, the unity of Polish society, the democratization of political life, and an increase in the PZPR's authority and influence, the Central Committee spoke in favor of creating new trade unions. After long debates, the position of the Politburo was approved by a majority.

The conditions governing the registration of new trade unions were specified:

Unconditional recognition of the Polish Constitution and the law on trade unions;
Active contribution to the development of the economy and to the increased production of material values;
Rejection of outside sources of finance;
Opposition to breaches of public order, and so forth.

[Unnamed correspondent] Does this mean that Solidarity could nevertheless be revived if it abided by these conditions?

[Sekula] The law on trade unions contains a provision allowing trade union pluralism, although this provision has been temporarily suspended and the Polish Council of State has the right to renew it. The 10th plenum has opened the political path to trade union pluralism. When the Council of State has renewed the provision on trade union pluralism, new trade unions, including the renewed Solidarity organization, will have the right to exist.

[Unnamed correspondent] What is your opinion of everything going on in the country at present? We mainly want to hear your opinion on the 10th PZPR Central Committee plenum, of course.

[Sekula] Summing up the results at a press conference held at the end of the plenum, W. Jaruzelski, head of party and state, said: "We did not make any risky moves yesterday. But, on the other hand, we carried out a kind of 'coup,' or, to be more specific, we have taken a very important, gigantic step along the same path we have been steadily and tirelessly following for many years now."

Further on Talyzin Talks, Meetings in Budapest

PM0702085589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Feb 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Soviet-Hungarian Commission Session"]

[Text] Budapest, 3 Feb—The accords achieved earlier at meetings between the CPSU Central Committee general secretary and the MSZMP Central Committee general

secretary and during talks between the USSR and Hungary heads of government are being implemented. This conclusion was reached by participants in the 38th session of the Soviet-Hungarian intergovernmental commission on economic, scientific, and technical cooperation, held in Budapest 1-3 February.

Questions connected with completing the elaboration of an outline plan for the development of economic, scientific, and technical cooperation between the USSR and Hungary during the next 15-20 years, and efforts to coordinate the USSR and Hungarian state plans for 1991-1995 in the three interconnected spheres were discussed. Accord was reached on extending a number of intergovernmental agreements on mutual cooperation.

Questions of improving the economic mechanism of cooperation, and specifically the foreign currency and financial instruments of price formation, were discussed. Conditions were agreed for the participation of both countries' enterprises and organizations in purchases and sales of production-and-technical goods in internal markets and an expansion of goods exchange operations, border trade, and direct exchanges of goods between internal trade enterprises and cooperatives in both countries, and a number of other issues.

Other questions pertaining to cooperation were also discussed at the commission session.

The Soviet delegation at the commission session was headed by N.V. Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and the Hungarian delegation was headed by P. Medgyessy, deputy chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers. MSZMP General Secretary K. Grosz received N.V. Talyzin today. An exchange of opinions took place on the implementation of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and All-Hungarian Party Conference decisions and on key areas of the socioeconomic and political reforms being implemented in both countries. The meeting passed in an atmosphere of friendship and comradely frankness.

On the same day N.V. Talyzin was received by M. Nemeth, member of the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers. Topical questions of the further development of Soviet-Hungarian cooperation and a quest for new forms of collaboration were discussed.

A meeting was held between N.V. Talyzin and P. Ivanyi, member of the Politburo and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee.

The meetings were attended by P. Medgyessy, deputy chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, and B.I. Stukalin, Soviet ambassador to Hungary.

Paper on Developing Hungary-S. Korea Ties

PM0602115589 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 3 Feb 89 p 3

[Own correspondent A. Kaverznev dispatch: "Mission in Seoul"]

[Text] **Budapest—Hungary will be the first socialist country to have an embassy in Seoul, following the signing in Seoul by Gyula Horn, state secretary of the Hungarian People's Republic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Choe Ho-chung, South Korea's minister of foreign affairs, of a protocol on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries as of 1 February. For the time being the Hungarian permanent mission will be located in downtown Seoul, on the 21st floor of the Hilton hotel.**

Why is so much importance being attached to what would appear an ordinary event in international practice?

By virtue of both domestic and foreign circumstances, South Korea and the DPRK have spent many years in relative political isolation. According to the figurative expression used by a Hungarian journalist, two islands were formed in the Korean Peninsula. Naturally, the stumbling block was and still remains the question of the settlement of relations between the two Korean states. Hungary found the strength to overcome the political and, if you like, psychological barrier and embarked on the increasingly active establishment and development of relations not only with the DPRK but also with South Korea—in the trade, economic, and cultural spheres to begin with, and now in the political sphere. Speaking on the eve of the signing of the protocol in Seoul, Gyula Horn emphasized the importance of the growing success in excluding ideological elements from international relations, and the fact that, for the first time in many years, military aspects have been subordinated to political will. Concerning the solution of the Korean question, this—as the state secretary said—is an internal matter for the two countries, and Hungary does not intend to interfere in any state's internal affairs. Gyula Horn also announced that the decision to establish diplomatic relations with South Korea was made by Hungary independently. It was not raised for discussion with its Warsaw Pact allies.

Even quite recently it would have been hard to imagine that such an agreement would be feasible. Certainly, the establishment of diplomatic relations between Hungary and South Korea is a direct consequence of the general thaw in the world's political climate. It is noteworthy that, in this context, the newspaper MAGYAR NEMZET recalls M.S. Gorbachev's speeches in Vladivostok and, later, in Krasnoyarsk, when he spoke of the need to ease tension in the Asia-Pacific region. Hungarian newspapers also note the efforts made by the South Korean side in the quest for ways to establish cooperation with socialist countries, and cite the South Korean THE KOREA TIMES, which wrote that the establishment of

diplomatic relations with Hungary is the first fruit of Korea's new foreign policy aimed at expanding ties with the socialist countries. Today South Korea has embassies in 94 countries, 70 of which also have diplomatic relations with the DPRK. In an interview with MTI, the Hungarian news agency, South Korea's deputy minister of foreign affairs declared that the present boost in mutual relations with Hungary will also have a positive influence on relations with other socialist countries.

Unfortunately, we still know very little about South Korea and its industrial potential. Nor do we know that last year the volume of its foreign trade reached $100 billion [sentence as published]. In terms of foreign trade turnover this small country ranks 11th in the world. South Korea also trades with Hungary but, if the truth be said, on a much more modest scale. Last year, South Korean exports to Hungary amounted to $17 million and imports reached $11 million. An agreement on expanding trade and cultural ties which was also signed in Seoul offers bold prospects for building up reciprocal deliveries and production sharing. South Korea will, on a reciprocal basis, grant Hungary most-favored-nation status in trade. During their stay in Seoul, Gyula Horn and Zoltan Gombocz, Hungarian People's Republic deputy minister of trade, visited the largest South Korean firms and met ministry leaders and representatives of business circles. There was discussion of opportunities for bilateral cooperation in the production of color television sets and picture tubes, as well as for the building of a car-assembly plant in Hungary. Tempting proposals which are desirable for both countries.

Comparison of Report on Medvedev Visit to Bucharest

PM0102143989

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 1 February carries in its Second Edition on page 4 a TASS report on Medvedev's 31 January activities in Bucharest and his return to Moscow. Comparison of the PRAVDA item, entitled "Meetings in Bucharest," with the translation of the Moscow TASS International version published in the 1 February Soviet Union Daily Report, p 44, reveals the following variations:

last paragraph, only sentence, in PRAVDA reads ...and other officials. The send-off party included Ye.M. Tyazhelnikov, USSR ambassador to Romania.

V.A. Medvedev returned to Moscow the same day.

He was met at the airport by V.M. Chebrikov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; A.Ya. Degtyarev, first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Ideological Department; R.P. Fedorov, first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department; and other officials.

The welcome party included I. Bucur, Romanian ambassador to the USSR. (adding passage)

Bucharest Meeting Marks USSR Treaty Jubilee

PM0602164789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Feb 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Meeting in Bucharest"]

[Text] Bucharest, 3 Feb—A meeting of representatives of the public devoted to the 41st anniversary of the signing of the first Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance between the Soviet Union and Romania was held here today.

Speakers at the meeting noted that this treaty created favorable conditions for the development of equitable and mutually advantageous cooperation between the two countries and peoples, provided a guarantee of the free development of Romania along the socialist path, and served as a reliable protection against the imperialist forces' encroachments on the gains of the Romanian working people.

Noting the active cooperation of the two countries in the struggle for peace, disarmament, and international security, the speakers emphasized that the Soviet Union and Romania will continue to strengthen their traditional friendship, and expand and consistently improve all-around mutually advantageous cooperation.

SED, CPCZ Officials on Dialogue, Peace Strategy

PM0602152389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Feb 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Implementing Policy of Dialogue"]

[Text] Berlin, 3 Feb—The SED and the CPCZ will continue to act resolutely to ensure peace, E. Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and J. Fojtik, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, have declared. In the course of a conversation held here today they emphasized that the GDR and the CSSR will, by implementing a flexible policy of dialogue, assisted by joint initiatives and their own proposals, contribute to the realization of the Warsaw Pact member states' peace strategy and make use of every opportunity to consolidate positive trends in the international arena. This is borne out, in particular, by the recent decisions of the two countries on unilateral reductions in their armed forces and armaments.

West Europe

Switzerland Accuses Soviet Diplomat of Spying

LD0401102689 Berne International Service in English 1000 GMT 4 Feb 89

[Text] The Swiss Government has accused a Soviet diplomat of spying and banned him from reentering Switzerland. The Federal Prosecutor's office in Berne

said the official had attempted to infiltrate Swiss industrial companies to gain access to Western technology. The Prosecutor's Office said the Soviet official had left the country before the investigation was completed.

UK Labour Party Delegation Visits, Meets Officials

Petrovskiy Receives Delegation

LD0102152189 Moscow TASS in English 1513 GMT 1 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 1 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy received a delegation from the British Labour Party today.

The delegation is led by Shadow Foreign Minister Gerald Kaufman.

During the conversation held in a constructive and friendly atmosphere, the sides discussed prospects for nuclear disarmament and other topical international problems.

Yakovlev Receives Delegation

LD0102204789 Moscow TASS in English 1836 GMT 1 Feb 89

[Text] Mocsow February 1 TASS—Soviet Communist Party Central Committee Secretary and Politburo member Aleksandr Yakovlev received a delegation from the British Labour party led by "shadow" foreign secretary Gerald Kaufman on Wednesday.

They had a substantive exchange of opinions on the present-day international situation, with special emphasis on disarmament.

Note was taken of the proximity of the two parties' views on a whole number of essential aspects of this problem of decisive significance to removing the threat of war and creating a nuclear-free and non-violent world.

The meeting also dealt with Anglo-Soviet relations. The sides proceed from the assumption that Mikhail Gorbachev's forthcoming visit to Britain will assist their continued development in the interest of both nations, stronger international security and cooperation and the building of a common European home.

Arbatov on Meeting With Politicians

LD0302130189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2206 GMT 2 Feb 89

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] A delegation of the Labour Party of Great Britain is in the USSR. The delegation, composed of prominent politicians of the country, had a meeting on 2 February with Soviet political scientists at the United States of America and Canada Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

[Begin Georgiy Arbatov recording] Today we have a very interesting meeting with our guests from Great Britain. It shows what great interest the Soviet initiatives and the Soviet foreign policy currently evoke. By what else was I won over in this? I would say by this very practical approach, that is, people were interested in those improvements in our policy which are genuinely important as far as practical purposes are concerned and which can be put to immediate use for political positions of one kind or another. People are beginning to think more and to put behind them the obsolete political trivialities and banalities, peddled during the cold war and taken for the truth over the last period.

It is, I think, thanks to us, to a great extent, that people have begun to think. After all, we have now assumed the role of catalyst in this process of intellectualizaton of foreign policy which used to be absolutely irrational, bordering on idiocy—no two ways about it—with its arms race, this terrible cold war, and complete inflexibility with regard to all views, total dead ends, this striking ability to have any problem reach an impasse or a stage of hopeless negotiations, and so forth.

Well, now it is a matter of great satisfaction to see both at this and other and numerous meetings how everything is beginning to get off the ground. A large group of Americans have been here recently, and they said honestly after this: You know, we became accustomed to living with a feeing that intellectual superiority is on our side, as far as foreign policy is concerned, that is. But now we see we have come to lag behind, and we must work and think how to catch up with you. [end recording] [video shows Arbatov, Kaufman, and Todd]

Politicians End Visit

LD0302130689 Moscow TASS in English 1221 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 3 TASS—Our delegation's visit to the Soviet Union was very useful and informative, pointed out Gerald Kaufman, Labour MP and shadow foreign secretary.

The visit to Moscow, he told TASS correspondent Igor Agabekov, has surpassed all expectations. The information we received was quite exhaustive and useful.

Together with Martin O'Neill, opposition front bench spokesman on defence and disarmament, and Ron Todd, general secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union, Gerald Kaufman is member of the group for reconsidering the Labour Party's external and defence policies.

Soviet analysts note that the delegation's visit could be qualified as yet another manifestation of cooperation between the CPSU and the Labour Party in the solution of the most important and crucial problems of our epoch. It should be recalled that the visit pursued, among others, the purpose of studying comprehensively the

problem of disarmament, both nuclear and conventional. This is why it was stressed during the talks that "Great Britain could play a much bigger role in this process than hitherto."

The British delegation wished to know the Soviet view on processes now occurring in the world, primarily on disarmament and its prospects against the background of the Soviet-American INF Treaty and talks on a 50-per cent reduction of strategic offensive weapons.

In reconsidering its foreign policy, without renouncing some of its fundamental aspects, such as emphasis on non-nuclear defence, the Labour Party is seeking ways to carry out its doctrine of unilateral nuclear disarmament in new conditions.

In the course of the visit the delegation had talks with Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Vladimir Lobov, first deputy chief of staff of the Soviet Armed Forces, Vladimir Petrovskiy, deputy foreign minister of the USSR, and Stepan Shalayev, chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions. It visited also several institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

The British guests flew home today.

UK Envoy Confers With Foreign Ministry's Karpov

PM0602095989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 1 February USSR Deputy Foreign Minister V.P. Karpov received R. Braithwaite, British ambassador to the Soviet Union. They discussed issues connected with the forthcoming Vienna talks on conventional armed forces in Europe.

Kamentsev-led Trade Delegation Arrives in UK

LD0602202989 Moscow TASS in English 1912 GMT 6 Feb 89

[Text] London February 6 TASS—A Soviet delegation led by Vladimir Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations, arrived here on Monday. Its main purpose is to boost the implementation of a long-term programme of the development of Soviet-British trade and economic relations coordinated on the summit level.

The delegation includes USSR Chemical Industry Ministry Yuriy Bespalov, USSR Timber Industry Minister Mikhail Busygin and other officials.

The delegation will hold talks with British ministers, heads of departments and businessmen on the expansion of bilateral busines relations.

Soviet officials will visit a number of British firms where they will familiarize themselves with the organisation of work and the retail trade system.

Spanish Economic Cooperation Protocol Signed

LD0202093389 Moscow TASS in English 0856 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Text] Madrid February 2 TASS—A joint protocol on industrial and economic cooperation signed in Madrid opens new vistas in developing and expanding mutually beneficial ties between the Soviet Union and Spain. This document capped the fourth session of the Soviet-Spanish mixed intergovernmental commission on industrial and economic cooperation held here.

The Soviet and Spanish delegations at the session were headed respectively by Yu. Chumakov, deputy minister of foreign economic ties of the USSR, and Apolonio Ruiz Ligero, state secretary for trade at the Spanish Ministry of the Economy and Finance.

The session analyzed the state and prospects for Soviet-Spanish trade and economic cooperation, opportunities for developing its new forms—joint enterprises and shared production.

Power engineering, machine-and ship-building, the light and food industries, the production, storage and processing of food products, building materials and mining equipment production, and also motor-car construction and electronics were defined as the priority areas of cooperation during the exchange of views held. Soviet economic organisations invited Spanish firms to take part on a competitive basis in modernizing several Soviet leather, hides and skin working enterprises, footwear, wall paper, and food products plants. The sides agreed to help launch joint ventures to produce communications equipment, building materials, articles made of coal-mining waste, and several light industry production units in the USSR, and also a complex to produce mineral fertilizers in Spain. They also underscored favourable prospects for cooperation in tourism.

Noting that the present level of Soviet-Spanish trade and economic cooperation does not match the existing potentialities, the session underlined the need to increase work on exploring opportunities and demands of the two countries' markets, diversify their commercial and economic relations, find new areas for mutually beneficial cooperation and intensify contacts betwee business executives.

It was planned to hold the regular, 5th, session of the commission in Moscow early next year.

Speaking at the protocol signing ceremony, Apolonio Ruiz Ligero voiced confidence that the protocol would provide a fresh impetus to Spanish enterprises' involvement in the process to overhaul the Soviet Union's

economy. the session, he said, accorded to us an important opportunity to receive first-hand information about measures effected in the USSR to streamline foreign trade, which is of particular importance to Spanish export firms. The state secretary for trade emphasized that the move to extend to Soviet enterprises the right to trade abroad would help expand commercial and economic ties between the two countries.

Political & Social

More on People's Deputies Election Campaigns

'New Stage' Analyzed

LD0702132989 Moscow TASS in English 1316 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 7 TASS—By TASS news analyst Boris Prokhorov: The new stage in the campaign to elect people's deputies of the USSR is evidence, on the one hand, of greater democracy in the electoral process and, on the other, of enhanced standards to which people, who were nominated candidates, are held.

Earlier, the names of candidates for nomination were discussed in senior executives' offices. Therefore, those who were nominated candidates were at once registered as tested people.

The situation has changed now. Both work collectives and geographical electoral meetings freely and independently named those whom they would like to see as their candidates to people's deputies of the USSR. There are districts where dozens of people became "candidates to candidates." Putting all of them on the ballot-paper can disorientate electors on election day and even generate the possibility of second ballot, as candidates try to scale the 50 per cent barrier.

Therefore, the new Law on Elections has introduced such an element as district electoral meetings. They are one more step of the ladder which each of the contenders for a deputy mandate should take. Nominated candidates set out their programmes at district meetings and answer questions, which provides an opportunity for the electorate to get better acquainted with the one for whom they will vote on March 26.

At these meetings electors have a real chance to choose in a preliminary way the creme de la creme and to do it in a democratic way—only those who receive more than a half of the district meeting votes can be reported as candidates.

District meetings also increase the exactingness of those running for a deputy mandate. Earlier it was considered that if a person was nominated candidate, he or she will become a deputy almost automatically. Now, one has to fight for this honour. The first barrier to be cleared after the nomination is a district meeting. The first reports from precincts say that not all "favourites," who were considered almost incontestable contenders, have reached the final stage successfully. Many have been defeated here, without even approaching election day. One cannot doubt that increased exactingness will have a salutary impact on the qualitative composition of the USSR's future deputies.

Science Academy Nominations Viewed

PM0602175189 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 4 Feb 89 p 2

[D. Pipko article: "Rally Beneath Presidium's Windows"]

[Text] "The presidium must resign!" "25 seats—23 candidates. Shame!" "Sakharov—yes!..." These are far from being the most scathing calls that staffers of some 30 Moscow institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences brought to its presidium building on 2 February. The reasons that prompted them to gather for this rally require special explanation. It arose out of the results of the nomination of candidate people's deputies from the USSR Academy of Sciences. When the results of the vote were counted up at an enlarged session of the presidium or, in other words, at a plenum, it came to light that the academy could propose for the 25 seats allocated... just 23 candidates. Worse than that, those who failed to collect the necessary minimum of votes included such well-known scientists as Academicians A. Sakharov, R. Sagdeyev, and D. Likhachev, and Doctors of Economic Sciences G. Popov and N. Shmelev.

The reaction of staffers of academy institutes to these results resembled the well-known cry: "They are beating our people!" Could it have been otherwise, insofar as stormy meetings had been held in the majority of collectives on the eve of the plenum, when more than 130 aspirants were named? Then Academician A. Sakharov's candidacy had been proposed in almost 60 institutes, R. Sagdeyev's in 25, D. Likhachev's in 20, G. Popov's in 16, and N. Shmelev's in 11. Suddenly they did not receive support at the plenum. What was going on?

This perplexity quickly grew into indignation. Collective letters were dashed off to the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium, to the central and academy electoral commissions, and to newspaper editorial offices, demanding that the results of the vote be canceled. They threatened to take this demand to a rally, which did take place. But the presidium responded to the threat with a series of sessions, news conferences, and meetings with institutes' directors and secretaries of their party organizations. I happened to attend a number of these meetings. Every time I could not shake off the feeling that both the presidium leaders and the "emissaries of the people" were concerned about some secondary details and that they were deliberately bypassing some matter of principle.

In fact, it had been reported at the plenum, when discussing the list for secret ballot, that Academician D. Likhachev would be elected from the Soviet Culture Fund and Professor G. Popov from the USSR Union of Scientific and Engineering Societies. Their names were not struck off the list only because the scientists had not had time to send in withdrawal applications. But it did

not make sense to vote for them. Moreover, A. Sakharov and R. Sagdeyev were soon named as candidates at meetings in okrugs. After this, one wonders, was it worth holding a rally?

"It was worth it!" its organizers insist. "We must assess from moral and ethical positions the conduct of the plenum participants who ignored the opinion of the majority of the academy...." But the question is this: Should they have taken it into account? And, moreover, blindly obeyed it?

"Let us first investigate: Do academy institutes have the right to nominate candidates at all?" Academician S. Belyayev reasonably remarked at a meeting in the presidium. "How are they better than VUZ's or sectoral scientific research institutes and design bureaus? They are all purely departmental, state subdivisions which can in no way claim the status of public organizations...."

This is the chief sore point of the situation. I am afraid that when the law on elections was being drawn up, the relevant articles were written by people who have a poor idea of what the Academy of Sciences is. Otherwise they should have stipulated that only that part of it which is an association of scientists who are full members (academicians) and corresponding members may take the role of a public organization. Like the members of any public organization, they admit the worthiest scientists to their ranks. The role of their leading organ is played by the general meeting, and that of the executive organ by the academy's elected presidium. It is another matter that this "head" of the academy centaur has been placed on the "torso" of an ordinary department consisting of institutes, experimental bases, and other subdivisions.

"Yes, the presidium was able to limit to academicians and corresponding members the circle of those participating in the nomination and in the election," Academician V. Kudryavtsev, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, admitted.

Yet there are less than 1,000 of them. So a natural question immediately arises: Why should this small group of people, albeit even with tremendous intellectual potential, have the right to delegate 20 or 25 representatives to the Soviet of People's Deputies, but the millions-strong society of those same inventors just 5?

In any event, the members of the academy presidium probably pondered these questions too. Could they say, for example: We will give to our scientific societies and associations the majority of the 30 seats allocated to the academy? And leave ourselves five, say? They could. But... the presidium preferred the reverse ratio. Moreover, in order to justify this, it decided to extend the "bounds" of democracy and involve collectives of academy institutes in the nomination of candidates.

Alas, subsequent events have shown that democratization is a two-edged sword and that we must know how to use it. And in this case.... By all accounts, it was not explained to people that their opinions could only be taken into account as mere good wishes. Another option cannot be ruled out: Institute staffers did not agree with the secondary role allocated them. Why?

I admit I tried in vain to find in our organizational structures something like the academy. Only recently I hit upon the thought that to some extent it can be compared with a huge... cooperative. The only difference is that academicians and corresponding members appear in the role of cooperative members proper, who determine all policy. Their "share" is measured not in money or business acumen but in prestige, talent, and renown in the scientific world. There is nothing surprising in this: Both here and abroad money for research and development is most frequently given precisely "to a name." As for the remaining academy staffers, in terms of their status they are close to people working for hire in cooperatives.

In cooperatives such a division does not give rise to complications. Science is another matter. Here new academicians are "recruited" from doctors of sciences working in institutes. Is it any wonder that many of them already consider themselves to be "almost academicians" but do not have even a part of their privileges? It is not without reason that they demand a broadening of their rights. As Academician A. Sakharov rightly remarked at a news conference, the chief work is done by scientists long before they are elected to the academy. Their rights and opportunities come later.

People might retort that the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium has already taken certain steps in this direction in recent years. That is probably so. But the rally showed that the results of its efforts are hardly felt at the level of institutes and laboratories. The nomination for people's deputies shook the hopes which had just been raised. Of course, what protest rally can there be without extremist slogans? But they must not be ignored.

On the other hand, it is only to be regretted that the presidium was unable to guess in advance the possible complications and did not attempt to master the situation. I have already had occasion to write (SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA 24 January) that certain institutes, without a trace of embarrassment, named almost 10 names, while the entire Urals branch named just 1. The present rules permit this. But as a result, even after discussion there remained on the list for secret ballot... 121 aspirants. Imagine yourself in the place of someone who must quickly select the 25 worthiest people from this multitude. I assure you it is in no way as easy as selecting one from five. Yet the institutes could have been united somehow, by urging them to nominate joint aspirants. But the academy presidium refused to introduce any regulations or restrictions, considering them a violation of democracy.

The abundance of aspirants led to other problems. In particular, because of the lack of time none of the aspirants was able to put forward his own platform. Therefore the voters themselves had to answer the question: Whose interests will a particular candidate champion? Those of academy science? Or interests common to all mankind?

This question probably occurred to many people: Who were the plenum participants whose decisions aroused a storm of emotion? Alas, their composition too was determined by the desire to... deepen democracy. In order to widen the circle of those voting, presidium advisers and members of department bureaus were included in it, in addition to members of the academy presidium. However, as subsequent events have shown, all efforts are in vain if they are not underpinned by a civic stance and high responsibility.

As Academician V. Kotelnikov, chairman of the academy electoral commission, reported, 379 scientists could have participated in the plenum's work. It was known beforehand that 102 of them would not be able to attend because of trips abroad or illness. How many people do you think participated in the vote out of the remaining 277? Just 190!

"Perhaps, by failing to appear, these scientists were demonstrating their attitude toward the election," people tried to convince me. "We have democracy...." It is a strange democracy bordering on indifference as to who will represent the academy on the state's highest organ. And whether he will be able not only to be present there but also to work.

The election campaign must answer all these questions. The rally participants placed the candidates nominated by the academy in a difficult position by calling on them to... withdraw their candidacies. These people will now find themselves the focus of heightened and sometimes even unhealthy attention in their collectives. They will need considerable courage to hold out and not yield to overt provocation and withdraw from the struggle.

Yes, of all the demands made at the rally this one strikes me as most dubious. Judge for yourselves whether chance people ended up among the candidates. No, they are all well-known at the academy. No one imposed them on anyone—they were proposed at meetings in institutes. Are there many leaders among them? How could it be otherwise if more than 70 directors were nominated at those meetings whose rights the rally participants were championing?

Yes, it is a pity that such well-known scientists as A. Sakharov and R. Sagdeyev were nominated in okrugs and not at the academy. But an election is always a struggle in which the strongest wins. Scientists of the USSR Academy of Sciences will gather in March for a conference to conclude the elections, when not only academicians and corresponding members but also representatives of every 150 institute workers will have the right to vote. To select the worthiest people for this role—this is the task that must be resolved today. Otherwise both the rally itself and the questions raised at it will seem unimportant.

Gen Lizichev Presents Platform

PM0402184889 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Feb 89 First Edition pp 1-2

[Unattributed report: "Man Is at the Center of Restructuring: Army General A.D. Lizichev, Candidate USSR People's Deputy From the CPSU, Meets With Communists of the Taman Guards Motorized Infantry Division"]

[Text] More than 3,000 Army and Navy primary party organizations proposed the nomination of Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, as a candidate USSR people's deputy from the CPSU. The CPSU Central Committee January (1989) Plenum named him as a candidate USSR people's deputy.

An election meeting of Communists of the M.I. Kalinin Taman Guards Motorized Infantry Division was held on 1 February to meet with Army General A.D. Lizichev.

Major General I.S. Danilenko, the candidate's agent, spoke about Army General A.D. Lizichev's career and the work being done by the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate to step up the restructuring process in the Armed Forces.

The meeting was addressed by Guards Lieutenant Colonels V.I. Beznosikov and V.P. Medvedev, Lieutenant Colonel of Reserves M.S. Pankovets, Guards Junior Sergeant K.D. Tushinskiy, and I.Ye. Polina, chair of the motorized infantry regiment women's council. The instructions given to the candidate concerned first and foremost questions of increasing the combat readiness of units and ships on the basis of qualitative parameters, improving party political work in the conditions of democratization and glasnost, and developing the social sphere in the Army and Navy.

Army General A.D. Lizichev then took the floor.

Our entire history over more than 70 years, he said, is associated with the Communist Party. The party always has been, is, and will be with the people. Everything that has fallen to the lot of Soviet society has been felt by the party too. Keenly felt.

But it was the Communist Party that found within itself the strength, will, and courage to accomplish a drastic change in the country's life in April 1985, and later at the 27th congress. Boldly facing up to the truth, the party considered critically the situation in the country and drew up an integrated program for restructuring, the

strategy and tactics of practical action. The ideas it put forward expressed the people's aspirations and hopes and received their vigorous support.

Restructuring and its present stage—the stage of practical action—should lift the party and the whole of our society to a new level of responsibility, where the main criteria for assessment are the real fruits of constructive activity. The most urgent need at present is to shift the center of gravity firmly to practical work to implement the restructuring policy that has been drawn up and the decisions adopted by the party and government.

The need to restructure political relations arises from this. The party defined the main avenue of political reform as running through such mechanisms as democratization, glasnost, the rule of law, and responsibility. All this taken together means socialist self-management by the people.

What program, what tasks is the party putting forward at the present elections?

This question is answered by the CPSU Central Committee Appeal to Communists and all the country's working people in connection with the elections of USSR people's deputies.

In presenting its election policy platform to society, the party is acting on the basis of the people's interests. It has proposed an innovative program for the renewal of socialism, the essence of which lies in the development and deepening of restructuring processes and tireless concern for the growth of Soviet people's well-being. At the same time it has proposed specific ways of rallying all society's healthy forces on a platform of revolutionary renewal. To this end the party will utilize the whole of its tremendous arsenal of means of political, ideological, and organizational influence.

My election program, A.D. Lizhchev went on, is derived entirely from the party platform set forth in the CPSU Central Committee appeal to the party and the Soviet people.

Certainly, as a military man and as leader of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, I intend to continue, on the basis of the party platform, firmly and strictly to pursue the line of restructuring the Army and Navy and restructuring our party political work.

The concept of restructuring in the Army and Navy was expressed quite neatly at the 19th all-union party conference: The effectiveness of Soviet military building should be defined primarily by qualitative parameters—as regards hardware, as regards military science, and as regards Armed Forces personnel. Military building should guarantee the highly reliable defense of the USSR and its allies, but should be carried out economically, with whatever reduction in spending is possible, and strictly in accordance with the defensive thrust of our military doctrine.

It must be said that the combat readiness of the troops and naval forces has now increased. The political and moral condition of personnel is sound on the whole.

But unfortunately, restructuring in the Army is not straightforward, there are omissions, shortcomings, and variations. The new political thinking demands new approaches to the resolution of military tasks, and unfortunately some people have not grasped that. Restructuring has not yet reached every component of the Army and Navy. Some comrades do not see their place in restructuring, sometimes they do not know how it should be implemented in the division or regiment or on the ship. In some places there are the serious retarding effects of the failure to evaluate the state of affairs objectively, low exactingness, bureaucratic methods of work, oversimplification and leniency, the gulf between word and deed, and sometimes the substitution of assurances, conferences, and ineffective checks for concrete organizational work.

Certainly, a priority task in my election program as an Army representative is concern for our military building, the combat capability and combat readiness of troops and naval forces, A.D. Lizichev said. My entire life is associated with the Army. Its future is my personal future too. And therefore my entire way of thinking is today, and will be tomorrow, directed toward the most important thing—improving the Army and Navy and increasing party influence on that process.

The world is still troubled. The trend toward disarmament, although it has recently received a very powerful boost, has not become irreversible. The movement toward a nuclear-free world is also encountering resistance. The legacy and inertia of the past continue to operate. The profound contradictions and the roots of many conflicts have not disappeared. That is why M.S. Gorbachev said in his speech at the UN General Assembly session on 7 December last year that we will maintain the country's defense capability at a level of reasonable and reliable sufficiency, so that no one is tempted to encroach on the security of the USSR and its allies.

In this connection the orientation toward a high level of vigilance, the quality of training and mobility of troops and naval forces, and their constant readiness to fulfill any tasks set by the Central Committee and the Soviet Government will remain the core both of our political work and of our practical activity in fulfilling the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th all-union party conference; it will remain the main aim of restructuring in the Army and Navy.

At present there is a great deal of talk about our military building in the press and on radio and television. In the public consciousness, you could say, two different approaches to transformations in the Armed Forces are identified. The first envisages improving the existing system. The second is oriented toward changing the fundamental principles of the Army's structure. It is claimed, in particular, that it is urgently necessary to go over to forming the Army on the territorial militia principle. Others propose a mercenary army. People also say that each union republic is free to have its own Army, its own national military formations.

V.I. Lenin, taking into account the objective circumstances surrounding the formation of a new socialist army in a multinational country, stressed as early as spring 1918 that we need nothing but an international army, and that it should be educated in the spirit of fraternity of all working people.

In its 70 years of existence our Army has experienced the territorial militia system, the nonterritorial and international (mixed) composition of troops, and national formations within the framework of a single Army. Having tried everything, often by trial and error, it began to structure itself on the basis of the existing cadre system of military organization, which was worked out by the party. This system withstood the test of both the Civil and the Great Patriotic War. That is the main argument in defense of the present system.

Our Army is international in origin and sociopolitical status. The Red Army was formed to defend the gains of October, which embodied the interests of all nations and ethnic groups of our country. The aims of its formation, the means of manning it, the nature of the tasks it tackles, and the protection of the interests of a specifically federal state and no other, a state composed of equal republics—these things determine the Army's international nature. That is the second argument.

The third argument. No nation or ethnic group could itself, independently, have created an army capable of defending the gains of the socialist revolution while encircled by imperialist powers that were incomparably more powerful in military terms.

The Soviet Army is international in its spiritual foundations. Finally, our Army should also be international because it is called upon, together with the allied armies, to defend the gains of world socialism and act as a special guarantor of peace, and these are international concerns.

Improving the existing system of military building is another matter. Enormous work lies ahead in this respect. And the most important thing is to discard what is obsolete and show state concern for conducting military matters still more economically, without detriment to the country's defense capability.

My future election program, the speaker noted, allots a special place to military discipline. It has been more than 3 months since the CPSU Central Committee Politburo session at which questions of strengthening military discipline were examined. It must be said that on the whole the process of improving the discipline situation is still gathering speed. But a radical improvement in military discipline has not been achieved. Not everything has been done to put an end to such disgraceful phenomena as nonregulation relations or evasion of military service. Instances of callousness, ignorance of people, and the inability to come to their assistance promptly when they are in a difficult situation are still not uncommon. The accident rate involving equipment is being reduced only slowly. Instances of drunkenness and even drug addiction have not been eradicated.

It is necessary resolutely to change the approach to the problem of maintaining discipline and to shift the emphasis to individual work with people, the strengthening of the conscious principles behind that work, the attainment of real—not superficial—spiritual closeness between chiefs and subordinates, and the creation of regulation conditions for service, life, and leisure for soldiers and seamen.

Let me emphasize: We should be well aware today of how much we lost in the past by failing to assimilate fully—in theory and especially in practice—the full fruitfulness of Lenin's ideas, plans, and practical recommendations concerning conscious discipline. All this must be revived and incorporated among our main concerns.

Each and every one of us must learn to manage ethnic relations in military collectives. That is no easy task. What is the problem here? The prolonged neglect of this sector. The unpreparedness of a number of commanding officers and political workers for international education work. The poor knowledge of Lenin's instructions on the nationalities question and the specific requirements of guidance documents that is displayed by some leaders and party activists.

Now that preparations are under way for the CPSU Central Committee Plenum on ethnic issues, great opportunities are opening up for us substantially to rectify the situation as regards the education of personnel in the spirit of the friendship of the USSR's peoples, internationalism, and the rallying of multinational military collectives.

The main task today is to involve all personnel, every individual, in restructuring. After all, the greatest difficulty in restructuring's path lies in our thinking, in our mentality, which were formed in years gone by.

All this makes it necessary to more thoughtfully, more solidly, and more resolutely renew party political work in the Army and Navy. And that means incorporating fully

in our practical activity the principle that party leadership is political leadership. And these things are incompatible with political leadership: a domineering attitude, diktat, approaches based on comands and pressure, a peremptory style, the practice of duplicating the work of commanding officers and chiefs of rear or technical organs and taking their place. Resolutely rejecting this practice and making radical changes to all party work is one of the key, central ideas of the 19th all-union party conference.

Therefore we set the task, A.D. Lizichev went on, of ensuring that political organs themselves live by the laws that form the basis of restructuring. That they set an example of democratic organization of their own internal life and activity. That they take care constantly to ensure that their work style and methods and the forms of organization meet the demands of the time and that no component lags behind in the restructuring processes. I see it as my task, as a candidate deputy, to further strengthen Army and Navy political organs, give them a more modern organizational structure, make them strictly subordinate to the party masses, and make them democratic. To distinguish the functions of political organs and commanding officers more clearly.

There will also be an end to petty regulations governing the activity of primary party organizations. Party committees and bureaus should themselves determine the forms of discussion and method of acting in fulfillment of the decisions of higher bodies. It is planned considerably to extend the rights of primary party organizations. It is necessary to eradicate the organizational sloppiness, sluggishness, and helplessness of a fairly large number of party organizations. Clearly the time has come to ask ourselves: Given the existence of an enormous party potential, can we be satisfied with what has been achieved in troop training, discipline, and the education of personnel? There can only be one answer—no.

One of the tasks that are the direct responsibility of political organs and for which they answer with their lives is the organization of effective ideological and political education work. There are many complaints about the content of ideological work here. The monologue has by no means everywhere been replaced by dialogue. There are instances of empty talk, the dissociation of ideological work from the urgent tasks of troop training and the strengthening of military discipline. All this must be rectified. It is necessary to further develop democratization and glasnost. This is a most important condition of restructuring. The principles of democracy and glasnost are in no way contrary to the principle of combined political and military leadership—on the contrary, they increase the prestige of the combined leadership system and the prestige of the sole leader.

Another important task is leadership of social organizations and the elected and appointed organs of independent social activity by servicemen, such as the Komsomol. We must not exercise tutelage or do their work for them, we must trust them and create the conditions for lively, meaningful work by Komsomol organizations, work that will really interest and attract young people. This is how it is: A political organ cannot be given a positive assessment if stagnation and formalism prevail in Komsomol or other social organizations.

Officer cadres, the candidate people's deputy said, will always be a subject of my keen attention. They are the Army's backbone, its gold reserve. In the years of Soviet power a mighty, skilled cadre potential has been formed in the Army and Navy. All its qualitative indicators have improved beyond measure in recent years. But something else has happened too. The influx of new leadership cadres was markedly weakened at one time. In the top echelon many generals and officers completed their terms. In some places there was stagnation in the cadre sphere, in others, on the contrary, they were frequently replaced. Everyone was particularly concerned about instances of favoritism. Certain important sectors were headed by leaders who failed to ensure the resolution of the tasks set. Some people served only in the country's major cultural centers, others only in the most remote garrisons. There were instances of abuses of official position by certain officials.

Painstaking and persistent work lay ahead to restructure the officer corps. We set about it, the army general said, by setting ourselves a clear goal: to balance all cadre policy. This was a difficult and painful process. It affected people's lives. Major cadre decisions were adopted. Permanent certification commissions were set up in all formations, units, and institutions, and they began to tackle democratically the questions connected with officers' promotions, movements, and decorations and the award of successive military ranks.

However, even today many distortions occur in work with officers. We still encounter gross pressure, insults, and the reluctance or inability to organize people's service and leisure properly.

The Defense Ministry, Main Political Administration, and Main Personnel Directorate are now actively studying the officer problem and formulating democratic guarantees that will help prevent abuses. Work is nearing completion, in particular, on the new regulations on the fulfillment of service by officers, on the officers' meeting, and on courts of honor. This year the certification of officer personnel will take place. Particular significance is attached to this, first and foremost because of the forthcoming reduction in the Armed Forces.

Young, able cadres will be retained. The extension of terms of service for the period 1989-1991 will be stopped, and the vast majority of those who have served their term of active military service will be discharged. Those who are unwilling or unable to serve according to regulations and who are unwilling or unable to train and educate people well will also be discharged.

In the interests of observing the principle of social justice, conscientious officers who have reached the upper age limit for service but have no pension rights will be given the opportunity to continue their service through the year 1991.

The educational standard of officer cadres will be improved considerably. In the next 2 years the question of the elimination of stagnation phenomena at battalion level will be resolved. All battalion commanders who have secondary military education but are able and comparatively young will be transferred to other posts or sent to academies. It is also planned to renew the Defense Ministry's central apparatus.

An important aspect of the CPSU election program is the strong social policy. For my part, A.D. Lizichev said, I will do everything in my power to ensure that this policy is accelerated appropriately in the Army and Navy.

First of all the housing problem must be resolved. There are now thousands of servicemen's families who do not have apartments. There is not enough housing for officers on duty or for airmen and submariners. Many garrisons need kindergartens and general educational schools, medical institutions, and officers' clubs and institutes. Demand for new barracks, bath and laundry premises, stores, and soldiers' tearooms remains high.

In the years of restructuring, concrete steps have been taken to resolve these problems. Some 30 percent of the total volume of Defense Ministry capital investments is allocated to housing and sociocultural facilities.

A long-term plan for housing construction in the Army and Navy through the year 2000 has now been drawn up. Through its implementation every serviceman's family will be provided with an individual apartment.

In 1985-1988 fairly large-scale measures were implemented to increase the volume and improve the quality of material, technical, medical, trade, consumer, and other types of provision for the troops.

The material and technical base of medical services was developed considerably. The standard of preventive, treatment, and diagnostic work improved. At the same time serious omissions and unresolved questions persist in the work of safeguarding and strengthening the personnel's health. Accident prevention work is unsatisfactory. The sanatorium and resort base is not developing at an adequate pace. We have now drawn up a wide program for the protection of servicemen's health. In particular, in the period through the year 2000 it is planned to build more than 230 treatment blocks and 29 hospital complexes. The network of military sanatoriums will be expanded by 15,000 places.

Food supplies to the Armed Forces and the nutrition of personnel will be improved. The structure of soldiers' rations improved in 1988. But in a number of places requirements for the organization of catering for personnel are not satisfactorily observed. There are considerable defects in the quality of food preparation. A range of measures aimed at eliminating the existing shortcomings have begun to be implemented.

New norms for the provision of kit and new rules for the wearing of military uniform have been drawn up. In the 13th 5-Year Plan it is planned to introduce a new uniform for servicemen that meets the most modern requirements. It will be discussed widely in the troops and fleets. Students at the academies will be provided with officer uniform. New technical means of improving the troops' living conditions in the field are being developed.

The Soviet Army and Navy constitute a large, complex organism in our socialist society, Army General A.D. Lizichev said in conclusion. Through their selfless service to the cause of Great October, the heroism and courage shown in battles against our fatherland's enemies, and the fulfillment of their international duty, Soviet servicemen have won our people's love and resepct. This respect must be further strengthened. Close links with the people—that is our revolutionary pedigree, our good international tradition, and the future of our Armed Forces.

Many thousands of military construction workers are now working on construction sites for the national economy, building plants and other facilities. Road building teams which will build tens of thousands of kilometers of good roads for a number of oblasts of the Russian Nonchernozem in the next few years have been set up. On the Baykal-Amur Railroad alone our railroad troops have built 1,297 km of railroad bed. Servicemen help agriculture to gather in the harvest.

The Army, as the most mobile and disciplined instrument of the state, takes part in the elimination of the consequences of natural disasters and accidents. Remember Chernobyl, the tragedies at railroad stations, the terrible disasters in Armenia and Tajikistan. In all these cases the Army was the first to bring help. And it will continue to give considerable assistance to the socialist national economy.

The candidate USSR people's deputy assured those present that he will take into account in his future work all the instructions and proposals from voters, and will carefully examine the criticisms.

The participnats in the meeting adopted a resolution to support the nomination of Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, as a candidate USSR people's deputy from the CPSU.

Key Qualities of Statesmen Viewed

PM0202160189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 31 Jan 89 p 1

[G. Uzhova roundup of readers' letters: "The Week's Mailbag"]

[Excerpt] The country is preparing for elections such as it has never had before. The nomination of candidates is complete, but the election struggle goes on. This still all sounds unfamiliar at present—the entire campaign and everything associated with it is unusual and exciting.

The level of interest and debate surrounding some particular figures brought forward into the political arena is very high—readers are writing in about Academician A. Sakharov, Academician D. Likhachev, investigator T. Gdlyan, Academician T. Zaslavskaya, scientist N. Shmelev....

From Kirov City Ye. Makarov, a worker at a grain products combine and member of the USSR Union of Journalists, writes: "The most important qualities in a statesman and public figure are to openly and boldly defend the truth and legality and to unselfishly fulfill his duties. There are a considerable number of examples from old Russian history, where even autocrats encountered a firm rebuff, disagreement, and condemnation in their wrongdoings, acts of brutality, and injustices. During the time of Ivan the Terrible, Metropolitan Filipp (F. Kolychev) and Prince Mikhail Repnin interceded on behalf of innocent victims and cursed the oprichnina [an administrative and territorial system of elite secret police employed by Tsar Ivan IV to strengthen the Russian centralized state and crush the boyar-princeling opposition] and the destruction and arbitrary rule of the 'oprichniki' [members of the secret police force established by Tsar Ivan IV]; Boyar Andrey Kurbskiy spoke 'frankly and to the point' in his letters to the tsar about everything that pained him, albeit from a limited class standpoint, as we, his descendants, now read in the textbooks. But we can still recognize Kurbskiy as a remarkable person and do not deny him his rare courage. There are also examples closer to the present day, of course: The actions of F. Raskolnikov, N. Ryutin, Academician I. Pavlov, and several others who did not remain silent became public quite recently.... And, even closer to the present, the actions of M. Suslov, B. Ponomarev, A. Kirilenko, M. Solomentsev, A. Kosygin, and other officials at the helm of power—could they not have put up a fight and somehow opposed the arbitrary rule, voluntarism, and ignorant economic management? Did they not have authority and great power? Even now we do not have a clear picture of their role in the leading ranks or of the responsibility of each of them for the stagnation and corruption of the time. If a figure of state (now a truly elected representative of the people) is going to blindly believe in leaders' infallibility and does not wish to 'dare to have an opinion of his own,' he will not be up to the requirements of his position. In his ode 'To a Dignitary,' Gavrila Romanovich Derzhavin gave strong bidding to always remember one's fellow countrymen, 'to make endeavor for the common good, not bow down like a snake before the throne, but stand and tell the truth.'" [passage omitted]

Official Says 'All' 'Karabakh' Leaders Under Arrest

LD0702152589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1430 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow, 7 Feb (TASS)—TASS correspondent Nikita Demidov reports:

At the present time, all the leaders of the banned nationalist organization "Karabakh" are under arrest. This was reported at a press conference at the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry given here today by Major-General Nikolay Vasko, first deputy chief of the Organizations and Inspectorate Administration [component name as received] of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry.

He said that "in all 87 were killed and 1,500 were injured in the conflicts in Armenia and Azerbaijan which arose on the basis of interethnic hostility. [no closing quotation mark as received] While protecting various facilities and citizens and maintaining public order, 4 soldiers of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry and the Soviet Army were killed and 117 were injured; 32 militia members were injured.

According to Nikolay Vasko, the population migration reached a large scale: Since 22 November 1988 141,000 Azerbaijanis have arrived in Azerbaijan from Armenia, and 158,800 Armenians have arrived in Armenia from Azerbaijan. Now the situation is normalizing somewhat: 43,800 Armenians and 4,100 Azerbaijanis [figures as received] have returned to their homes.

Operational investigative groups from the USSR Procuracy and the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry have been set up to investigate the crimes. It was reported at the press conference that 779 cases of crimes based on ethnic hostility have been brought and are being investigated, while 517 people have been charged.

Major-General Aydyn Mamedov, Azerbaijan's interior minister, noted that unfortunately not all employees of the republic's militia have been doing their professional duty as they should. More than 100 people in charge of the republic's internal affairs bodies have been fired and have had severe disciplinary proceedings instituted against them.

Usik Arutunyan, Armenia's interior minister, was very critical of the work of the republic's militia. He reported that 24 employees have been fired. Arutunyan noted that the situation that fosters crime [kriminogennaya obstanovka] in Armenia has been complicated by the aftermath of the earthquake. As of 1 February this year 140 cases of crimes committed in the disaster zones were being investigated. On the railways some 71 cases of

theft of freight bound for the stricken areas have been detected (52 of these have been solved). Measures have been taken to step up the guarding of freight.

Article Defends Adoption of NKAO Decree

PM0202101189 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 19 Jan 89 p 3

[Article by A. Ibragimov, chief of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Legal Department: "Dictated by Life"]

[Excerpts] **It is well-known that on 12 January the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, having examined the situation prevailing in and around Nagorno-Karabakh, adopted the decree "On the Introduction of a Special Form of Administration in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] of the Azerbaijan SSR." This decree comes into force tomorrow.** [passage omitted]

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree was actually dictated by the realities and necessities of life, by people's interests.

I believe it offered the only alternative. In the prevailing situation, the decree that was adopted was the only sensible, and therefore the only available option. [passage omitted]

About the decree itself, or rather about its contents: The decree contains specific juridical norms regulating some very major interethnic legal relationships. Primarily the decree unambiguously confirms yet again the NKAO's constitutional territorial affiliation to Azerbaijan as its inalienable component.

This norm must be perceived and interpreted as stating that the NKAO has been, is, and will remain part of Azerbaijan. I know that attempts at a different interpretation of this norm are made by those who wish us ill, by provocateurs. Their calculations are as simple as they are perfidious: to sow doubts in people's minds, to fan unhealthy passions anew, to bring the situation back to one of tension and instability. These intentions cannot be described as anything but criminal. I would like to see each and every attempt at diverting a clear political and constitutional norm along the tracks of the senseless and the absurd fittingly rebuffed and recognized as deliberately hostile.

To continue: The decree juridically ordains the suspension of all activity by state, public, and other organs in the NKAO. Their functions are transferred to the special form of administration in the oblast, namely the NKAO Special Administration Committee. [passage omitted]

The following complex question arises in close context with the aforementioned: Is the republic's sovereignty not infringed upon by the formation of the committee and its subordination to the center?

I think that many, if not all, will agree with me: No, not in the least! The logic here is simple. Let us reflect together. The decree, in terms of both form and content, was adopted within the limits of existing constitutional provisions in the republic and the USSR, in other words the Constitution of the state which we joined as a result of the nations' free self-determination and voluntary union. The decree—and I repeat this—does not abrogate any USSR or republic constitutional provisions. Article 9 of the Azerbaijan SSR Constitution—"The NKAO"—remains in force. Article 83 of the republic constitution remains immutable, and it reads: "The NKAO is part of the Azerbaijan SSR." That same provision is enshrined in Article 87 of the USSR Constitution. Another important point is that the decree was adopted with the republic's voluntary consent, with the knowledge of its representatives, and with due consideration for their wishes and interests. Nor must it be forgotten that the republic itself had repeatedly raised with the center the question of taking extraordinary measures to restore order and normalize the situation in the NKAO.

Finally, Article 3 of the decree reads that, while it remains in force, the enterprises, institutions, and organizations under union or republic jurisdiction and their branches, shops, and other structural subdivisions are under the committee's jurisdiction as regards a range of questions defined by the USSR Council of Ministers, with due consideration for the opinion of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers. A.Kh. Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, recently emphasized in his speech to the republic party aktiv that the committee will function in close collaboration and contact with our republic leadership.

I think that there is no need to decode these arguments. They are unambiguous.

What other arguments would I put forward in support of the expediency of forming the committee, and mainly of subordinating it to none but the center?

First, an honest analysis shows that at this stage, the majority of the oblast's population (let us not now get into who is more or less to blame for this) do not have sufficient trust in the republic organs. Hence the temporary need for a new mechanism, a new system for the oblast's leadership. The only correct action in this situation is to subordinate this mechanism to the center.

Second, our state is a federation and not a confederation. Consisting of 15 sovereign republics, its purpose is to develop our society on the basis of voluntary and equal principles. We all share one common goal and an identical world philosophy.... But each republic will have to choose its own tactics for advancing toward our common future on the basis of the specific features of its economy, culture, and history. We know that this right of choice is being exercised increasingly fully by republics on the basis of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference decisions.

Each of the equal union republics enjoys major and extensive rights. By absolutizing its own rights and on this basis ignoring the federation's rights, however, the republic could actually damage the union. There is, for example, a single unionwide centralized Ministry of Defense. That is the center's prerogative. None of the republics has hitherto suffered as a result of this; they have only gained. I think that everyone would agree with me.

Finally, there is this: Let us assume that the committee harms the republic through its practical activity. In such an event, and in line with Article 119 Paragraph 14 of the new text of the USSR Constitution, our republic would be entitled to raise the question of its protection, especially since Article 81 of the Constitution reads: "The sovereign rights of union republics are protected by the USSR."

There is another, relatively important consideration. Mistrust in the center, in the federation, and sundry doubts about decisions made at that level do not in any way conform with the essence of internationalism and the dignity of USSR citizens, who are patriots and internationalists. I think it also important to emphasize this.

Internationalism!—this is the high note on which I would like to end my reflections. In this difficult time for the republic I personally have realized more than ever before the most profound meaning of this term, the full value of its inherent principle of mutual relations between nations and ethnic groups. I hope that others among my compatriots have had the same experience. Today this principle helps us to clearly work out the prevailing situation and to understand the full urgency of the decisions made by the party and the government to stabilize the situation, including the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree. It is on the path of internationalism—and only on this path!—that we will be able to solve the most difficult tasks facing us in the socioeconomic sphere as well as the spheres of culture, science, and education. It is on this path—and only on this path!—that we will be able to consolidate good-neighborly relations between the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples and the friendship and fraternity of Soviet peoples. Internationalism is the guarantee for success in our restructuring.

The main point today is to ensure that each and every one of us realizes this not only with his mind but also with his heart and all his soul!

Politburo Commission Examines Rebuilding Spitak
LD0402203689 Moscow TASS in English 1857 GMT 4 Feb 89

[Text] Yerevan February 4 TASS—The commission of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee has examined at its regular working meeting today, which was conducted by Lev Voronin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, preparations for re-building the Armenian city of Spitak, which was flattened by the earthquake in December 1988, at a new place.

The commission also looked into questions of Spitak and the Spitak area residents' every-day life. Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, attended the meeting.

The new city will be built several kilometres south of its former boundary. The choice of the territory was made relying on seismologists' recommendations. Almost 500 hectares of land were allotted for the future city. The first apartment blocks will be laid down as early as this month.

A lot has been done to sustain life in Spitak over the time that has passed since the tragedy: All families which were left homeless were housed in tents or mobile homes. The supply of people with food and maufactured goods was organised. Schools, hospitals, shops, canteens, and communications offices were opened in tents and temporary buildings. Electricity and gas are fed without gaps. Work to clear the rubble goes on.

The commission noted that these actions were expeditious and important. However, it drew attention to an obvious delay in forming a construction task force in Spitak. The republican state committee on construction poorly coordinates the activity of Spitak-based building organisations, which may stymie the plans drawn up.

The commission strongly denounced the delay in construction and committed the Council of Ministers of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic to work out a system to coordinate and control all construction work in Spitak and the Spitak area in the next few days.

The commission examined and approved a package of measures sizably to increase the production of local building materials: sand, broken brick, and tuff in the next few years. The commission underlined the importance of discovering new pits and equipping them with modern crushing plants.

The commission described the sanitary and epidemiologic situation in the disaster-area as strained. Although there have been no any epidemics in cities and in rural areas of northern Armenia thanks to sanitary inspectors' selfless work, the danger of their eruption is still preserved, especially with the advent of spring. Therefore, the commission has demanded that the respective services do not let the situation slip away from their control for a single minute.

Arutunyan, Voronin, Others Visit Leninakan

NC0702114089 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1830 GMT 6 Feb 89

[Text] The members of the CPSU Central Committee commission; Suren Arutunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee; and Lev Voronin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, visited Leninakan with a view to expediting the rebirth of Leninakan, bringing a normal life back to the inhabitants, coordinating a number of issues on the spot, and activating the work of the relevant organizations.

They explored Leninakan's new construction site for the first residential area, visited industrial enterprises, and conversed with the population and with heads of construction organizations.

May revolution [word indistinct] industrial enterprise, which has always exhibited the best traditions of labor, completed its first postquake production essential for the activation of life in the city. All the basic units of the enterprise except one are functioning; the production capacity has reached 60 percent of the prequake level.

Suren Arutunyan and Lev Voronin instructed the directors of the enterprises and party organizations to exert efforts to satisfy the daily needs of the work collectives and their members and, in particular, the majority of the workers. The members of the commission decided on the spot to increase by 1,600 the number of (?prefabricated houses) provided to the city in the future.

In any case, there are still many unresolved (?issues) and problems. [Words indistinct] in temporary [words indistinct]. Suren Arutunyan and Lev Voronin concerned themselves with the [words indistinct] and with the vital problems of the rural settlements.

Official on Armenian Reconstruction Plans

LD0602130389 Moscow TASS in English 1220 GMT 6 Feb 89

[Text] Yerevan February 6 TASS—Soviet specialists have prepared a plan for rebuilding Armenian areas devastated by the December 7 earthquake.

The plan envisages the construction of relatively small settlements for 10-12 thousand people and a system of satellite-towns. Due consideration was given to the seismologial and demographic situation in Armenia.

The quake has proven that many cities in northern Armenia were built in seismologically unsafe areas where housing construction is, to say the least, imprudent.

"The city of Spitak, for example, was damaged more than other cities because it is situated at a crossing of several faults," Aleksandr Krivov, deputy chairman of the Soviet Committee for Architecture and City Planning, told TASS.

"This was known long ago but scientists' warnings on this subject were ignored. The cities of Leninakan and Kirovakan are also situated on 'soft' rocks in seismologically very dangerous zones."

Most Armenian cities have already exceeded their expansion potential, Krivov said. "You can't develop territories around these cities because of specific rock varieties and the seismological threat. Should population distribution schemes in Armenia remain unchanged, by the year 2000, when its population reaches four million, the problem of housing people will become extremely urgent. Between 300 and 400 square kilometres of land will be needed to build another city. This means that already scarce arable lands will have to be used for these purposes. Modern building techniques permit the housing of 200 people per hectare of land. Such settlements have already been developed," he said.

Satellite towns will be built along the same lines. It is planned to build one such town eight kilometres south-east of Leninakan on a tufa plateau. This rock variety is more resistant to tremors. Thirty boroughs will house 1,000 people each. Another such settlement will be constructed north-west of Leninakan on tufa and basalt rock. It's estimated that the population will eventually reach 100,000 people.

Azerbaijan Bureau Discusses Nationalities Issue

LD0602142689 Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri 26 Jan 89 p 1

[Text] At the Communist Party of Azerbaijan Central Committee:

The Communist Party of Azerbaijan Central Committee Bureau discussed the results of the meeting of first secretaries of the Communist Party Central Committees of the Transcaucasian republics held in Tbilisi on 23 January.

The useful nature of the exchange of views on the process of implementing the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference and on the activity of the party organizations in the struggle to restructure society in a revolutionary way, was noted. The meeting recognized the need to develop the internationalist traditions of the working class and Communists of the Transcaucasus and restore friendship and mutual assistance.

Questions of improving relations between nationalities in the region were comprehensively discussed, as were questions of contributing to the activities of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast by all means.

The importance of immediately solving the problem of returning the migrants to their permanent residences was particularly stressed. Additional measures were established for assistance in dealing with the consequences of the earthquake in the Armenia SSR.

The bureau was satisfied with the results of the meeting and instructed the departments of the Central Committee and the council of ministers of the republic to take practical measures to fulfill the agreement achieved, and tasked the party, soviet, and economic bodies and trade union and Komsomol organizations with the duty of intensifying efforts to restore traditions of friendship among fraternal republics of the Transcaucasus and to extend and strengthen internationalist relations. Attention was especially focused on the need for work collectives, towns, and rayons to deepen social, political, economic, and spiritual relations among neighboring towns and rayons.

Baku Commandant Says Situation Calm

LD0702101589 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 6 Feb 89

[Announcement by the Lieutenant General Kolesnikov, military commandant of the Baku Special District]

[Text] The situation remained unchanged in the city during the past 24 hours. Calm prevailed. No cases of disruption of public law and order were recorded. Enterprises and departments in the city (?preserved) their normal working pace.

[Signed] Lieutenant General Kolesnikov, military commandant of the Baku Special District

*PRAVDA Writes on 'Corruption' in Azerbaijan

WA18300284 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jan 89 p 2

[Article by N. Demidov: "In His Patrimony"]

[Text] Literally the next day after the publication of the article entitled "A Crown Over the Boulders" telegrams began to pour into the editorial office. And all of them, with rare exceptions, were from Apsheronskiy Rayon in Azerbaijan or from Baku.

"Having read the article in PRAVDA I was disturbed. We see the first secretary of the party raykom, Z. Mamedov, in meetings. His statements show concern for the people and adherence to principles in dealing with bureaucrats and bribe takers. It is offensive to read critical remarks about a person who has such a paternal attitude toward the rayon. Faradneva." "We know Z. Mamedov as a conscientious, good, and honest person. He has been slandered. We ask you to verify the facts. We are waiting for a just response. N. Babayev"...

We remind you that the article, which was published on 11 November 1988, discussed the abuses of their positions by certain party workers in Azerbaijan. Facts were published concerning the concealment of leaders who had compromised themselves and the punishment of those who had tried to fight against them. In particular, the article discussed the unworthy activity of the first secretary of the Apsheronskiy Raykom of the republic Communist Party, Z. Mamedov. Incidentally, he tried in all ways to block the appearance of this article in PRAVDA. He tried to persuade the authors not to publish it. And when the journalists refused to cooperate when he was "nice" about it, he immediately organized a campaign of telegrams accusing them.

And here again are the "responses." There is something similar in the handwriting and the style... And sometimes the telegrams were all sent at the same time, although the impatient readers sent them from various points in the rayon and Baku. Many messages came from the farms of the agricultural firm Zeytun. The PRAVDA correspondent along with the general director of this farm, a member of the raykom bureau, F. Guseynov, visited a number of farms. It was explained that this time too the telegrams had been organized and prepared under pressure from the raykom, and some of them were simply forged.

The brigade of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee which was working in the region after the publication of the article was quite convinced that there were all kinds of unfair shuffling. Here is what is reported in its materials:

On 15 November during conversation in the Apsheronskiy Raykom of the republic Communist Party, F. Guseynov of this brigade discussed the meetings on the sovkhozes that were organized by the raykom. The residents here were told to sign prepared texts of protests against the PRAVDA article "A Crown Over the Boulders." Comrade Guseynov submitted data showing that many of those who had signed the texts had not read the article itself, and one of the organizers of the falsified documents is an inspector of the raykom organization division, D. Musayev, who had been brought to trial for immoral behavior. But a partial finding of the people's court that had been sent to the raykom was concealed by Z. Mamedov from the party organization apparatus of the republic Communist Party raykom.

On the same day Mamedov called a meeting of the bureau and made a suggestion: to give Guseynov a strict reprimand with an entry on his report card and to recommend that he be relieved of his position. To be sure, Mamedov did not manage to realize his intention. But after the rayon party conference Guseynov was not elected a member of the raykom bureau. By the way, we shall return to this, but now let us return to the documents.

From the letter of the former chairman of the Apsheronskiy Rayispolkom who is currently manager of the Azerittifak Trust, M. Mirzoyev, to the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee:

"During the past 3 years a real game of personnel leap frog has developed in the rayon. Promotions and transfers of people to one position or another have become an extremely mysterious and confusing matter. At the same time as everywhere else a hard battle is being fought against cover-ups and inflated figures, here they continue to conceal an abnormal situation and throw dust in people's eyes. In the reports of many farms and organizations of the rayon that were inspected by statistical agencies, figures were inflated or numerical data were concealed. The people promoted by Mamedov for management work were 'afflicted' by the disease of abusing administrative methods and nepotism, and they began to abuse their positions."

From the statement of the former secretary of the Apsheronskiy Party Raykom, S. Aliyeva, at the rayon party conference:

"Little has been done for the rayon by people related to Z. Mamedov such as the chiefs of the rayon housing administration, R. Abdulayev; the OBKhSS, Ya. Veliyev; the passport table, Sh. Mamedov; the animal husbandry division of the RAPO, T. Salmanov; the people's court, A. Kuliyev; the manager of trust No 2, V. Nagiyev; the director of the Kobystanskiy Sovkhoz, Z. Ragimov... And can one really list all of the relatives and countrymen of Z. Mamedov whom he has arbitrarily employed, ignoring the personnel reserve in the rayon? What kind of position can the raykom have today when it has been turned into the patrimony of the first secretary?"

Every fourth letter from Apsheronskiy Rayon to the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee contains a complaint about blatant cases of violations in the distribution of housing. As was established by the inspection, in the rayon complete chaos reigns in this matter. Suffice it to say that there is a difference of almost 500 names between the decisions of the rayispolkom concerning registration and allotment of apartments and the official registration book which is used for the distribution of housing.

The entire rayon knows of the machinations with the registration permit for a chauffeur Z. Mamedov had invited from Kubatlinskiy Rayon (previously Mamedov was first secretary of the raykom there). The driver of his personal Volga was immediately assigned a three-room apartment from the quota of the manager of affairs of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, which was intended for party workers. Just as illegally, 3 months later a four-room apartment was assigned to a cook at the cafeteria that serves the leadership of the Apsheronskiy Raykom. (At the same time people wait for 10 years to housing at the rayon's public catering enterprise.) One can give many cases like this. The essential thing is that in the rayon favorable conditions have been created for squandering the housing supply, and the fog that has descended around the register of those who are in need of apartments helps to conceal abuses. But Mamedov himself shows constant concern for the distribution of housing.

Apsheronskiy Rayon is special. Some of its businesses are within the city limits of the republic capital. While arriving for residence in a rural rayon, a person can automatically become a city dweller. It is difficult to obtain a residence permit in Baku. But through the Apsheronskiy authorities there is no problem. It is no wonder that in recent months, before the influx of immigrants from Armenia, hundreds of people came to the rayon and hundreds of people left it as well. The circulation of the population was controlled by people who wish to receive a good recompense for certain of their services. But it is the journalists' job to investigate the principles governing the allotment of land and apartments here as well as appointments and transfers. Are these made in return for bribes or because of business qualities or simply "beautiful eyes." It would seem that this is the concern of the corresponding agencies. It is more important for us to know why the guilty parties escape punishment so easily.

It would seen that the rayon party conference should have answered this question. But it not answer it. Z. Mamedov's capabilities as a director turned out to be greater than party demandingness. Here is what eyewitnesses say. The conference was planned out as though from notes. The speakers praised Mamedov and criticized everyone who crosses him or have helped the inspectors from the brigade of the republic Communist Party Central Committee. As a result, neither F. Guseynov nor the raykom secretary S. Aliyeva was elected.

Many of those who wished to express everything that was bothering them, including to the Communist V. Alekperov, who was defended by PRAVDA, were simply not given the floor. The republic newspaper VYSHKA routinely discussed the "principled and businesslike" activity of the conference. If the local newspapermen had dug deeper they would have learned that the report commission could include only "trusted people" of Z. Mamedov, and the delegates were, for example, the already known chauffeur of the first secretary and the secretary-typist of the raykom.

To put it briefly, Mamedov remained in his post even after the conference. Perhaps with all of his vices he still proved to be a skillful production organizer? By no means. Thus on the favorable soil of Apsheron "under his leadership" the yield of vegetables decreased and the sale of milk and meat is not increasing on the farms. The construction of facilities that are very necessary to the rayon is proceeding poorly. But still write-ups are flourishing everywhere and there are guest houses for the "elect."

In other places people are held strictly responsible, and for a fraction of what is happening here, but nothing affects Z. Mamedov. Yes, the notorious events in Baku have largely been covered over by the prompt and principled reaction to the article in PRAVDA. So far no measures have been taken against other leaders who compromised themselves who were named in the newspaper, for example, the first secretary of the Khanlarskiy Raykom of the republic Communist Party, G. Iskenderov. He also managed to retain his post. Why?

This was the conclusion: the firing of the first secretary of the raykom could lead to "more unrest among the masses." How can one respond to that? Party work consists of being able to speak with the people in a language they understand. Now among the new republic leadership there are many people who have this gift. It would seem that they would be able to fully explain to the people who is impeding the restructuring and how and why. The events surrounding Nagorno-Karabakh not only should not bring a halt to the process of renewal but, on the contrary, should incite even more active work in the personnel policy.

Certain groups in Azerbaijan do not need any changes. They have been doing well for a fairly long time. Now it is time to listen to the opinion of those who have suffered from their dominion. It is time to say farewell to the phenomenon of the infallibility of leaders who overstep the mark. People like Z. Mamedov, G. Iskenderov, and others no longer have the right to head party organizations and cast a shadow on the authority of the Communist. Many residents of Azerbaijan are saying this in their letters and telegrams—those who have sent their responses out of conscience and not in response to shouts from "infallible" leaders who are trying to escape retribution.

Consecration Ceremony Held at Vilnius Cathedral

LD0502154989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1355 GMT 5 Feb 89

[Text] Vilnius 5 February (TASS)—Services have resumed in the cathedral in Vilnius, the capital of Lithuania. The church was consecrated today. Present at the ceremony were the hierarchs of the Catholic Church in this Soviet Baltic republic, as well as representatives of other creeds.

The 77-year old Bishop Julionas Steponavicius; the apostolic administrator of the Vilnius archdiocese conducted a mass to mark the consecration of Vilnius Cathedral.

The cathedral, which is a jewel of Lithuanian classicism, was built at the beginning of the 19th century according to the plans of the local architect Laurinas Stioki-Guzevicius. From 1956 it housed a picture gallery. In accordance with a decision of the Lithuanian Government, the cathedral was returned to believers in autumn 1988.

Crowds Pack Cathedral

AU0502182389 Paris AFP in English 1750 GMT 5 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow, Feb 5 (AFP)—Crowds packed the Roman Catholic cathedral in the Lithuanian capital Vilnius for the first mass celebrated in the cathedral since 1949, Lithuanian sources told AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE.

The service marked the 19th century cathedral's return to the church after 32 years as an art gallery.

More than 1,000 people stood outside while 77-year-old Biship Julionas Steponavicius said mass, according to the sources in Vilnius, reached by telephone from Moscow.

The announcement that the Lithuanian authorities would hand back the cathedral to the church was made at the founding meeting of the Sajudis unofficial pro-reform movement in Vilnius last October.

The strongly-Roman Catholic Lithuanians had been pressing for the cathedral to be restored to the church for several years. More than 80 per cent of the Baltic state's 3.5 million people are Catholic.

Lithuanian Plenum Approves 'Appeal' to Voters

PM0302162589 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 22 Jan 89 p 1

[Unattributed "Information Report on the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum"]

[Excerpts] The 16th Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum was held in Vilnius 21 January. It discussed the draft Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Appeal to Communists, Working People, and All Voters in the Republic.

The plenum opened with an introductory speech by A. Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee. [passage omitted]

The plenum approved the draft Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Appeal to Communists, Working People, and All Voters in the Republic. The appeal will be published.

The plenum discussed an organizational question. V. Baltrunas, hitherto deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Science and Educational Establishments Department, was appointed chief of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Organizational-Party and Cadre Work Department.

Lithuania's 'Yedinstvo' Movement Holds Conference
PM0202162389 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 24 Jan 89 p 3

[ELTA report: "'Yedinstvo' Conference in Vilnius"]

[Excerpts] The municipal conference of the socialist movement for restructuring in Lithuania "Venibe, Yedinstvo, Yednost" was held last Sunday in Vilnius' Construction Workers' Palace. [passage omitted].

Doctor of Juridical Sciences Prof I. Kucherov, who delivered a report on the draft program, indicated that the document's main idea is to safeguard the rights, interests, honor, and dignity of man as the main value and measure of all values.

Delegates' speeches touched on questions of interethnic relations and service in the USSR Armed Forces. It was stressed that "Yedinstvo" is prepared to consolidate efforts and act together with the "Sayudis" Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring and other public organizations in the quest for ways to renew society and humanize socialism. "Sayudis" is doing a great deal of useful work today, the speakers noted, but having stressed the ethnic character of restructuring, it has limited the involvement of Lithuania's other ethnic groups in it.

The speeches devoted a great deal of attention to condemnation of Stalinism and the period of stagnation.

The conference unanimously adopted resolutions on the sovereignty of the Lithuanian SSR and, according to the draft program, on participation in the election campaign, the draft statute, on establishing a press organ, and other documents.

The proposed resolution "On the State Lithuanian Language and the Use of Other Languages on the Republic's Territory" was not adopted owing to disagreements on some of its provisions. The debate that unfolded voiced the demand that the Lithuanian-Russian bilingualism that took shape historically be preserved and the Polish language's rights guaranteed in regions with a predominantly Polish population. The conference demanded that the final version of the decree on the use of the languages be published prior to its ratification by the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Retired Officers 'Worried' by 'Sajudis' Movement
PM0202140189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 2 Feb 89 First Edition p 1

[Letter from readers: "'Their Own' Democracy"—KRASNAYA ZVEZDA headline]

[Text] Klaypeda—We read with interest the article "Not Daring to Have Your Own Opinion?" (KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 17 January). For us veterans living in Lithuania the problems raised by the newspaper are familiar. Individual leaders of the "Sajudis" public movement have recently been acting, voluntarily or involuntarily, to divide people along national lines. But in the business of restructuring, consolidation is needed.

We want to note that the republican newspaper SOVETSKAYA LITVA has raised this subject many times. The Central Committee of the republic's Communist Party also calls for unity. But to this day forces opposing this are active in "Sajudis." We are particularly worried by the fact that it is still "their own" democracy which prevails among them—sweeping aside from the outset any proposals from their opponents. The result is a quite unique pluralism of opinions—only "Sajudis" is right. Incidentally, this was rightly noted by SOVETSKAYA LITVA in its 15 January issue. In the letter review "Not Only Black and White" the newspaper rightly raises the problem: As soon as someone tries to express his viewpoint in the press and make his suggestion to "Sajudis" the wheels of signature gathering, label sticking, protest organization, and so forth immediately start turning. Surely this cannot be possible in a civilized society?

[Signed] Colonel I. Puzyr (retired); Colonel P. Shuklin (retired); Reserve Colonel G. Chetvergov; Reserve Majors V. Naritsyn and V. Tishchenko

Lithuanian Lawyers Form Union Based on 'Openness'
LD0602161089

[Editorial Report] Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian on 15 December 1988, page 3 carried a 700-word interview by TIESA correspondent Arnoldas Caikovskis, with members of the iniative group for formation of a Lithuanian lawyers' union, founded at Vilnius University Law School. Pranas Rasimavicius, dean, and Ipolitas Nekrosius, docent, answered questions in the interview entitled: "Lawyers Form Their Own Union;" date and place not given.

When asked how the idea of forming a Lithuanian lawyers' union came about, P. Rasimavicius replied: "The lawyers of our republic have long harbored the idea of establishing their own association or union, which would be based on voluntary principles, and would unite individuals of the same profession who wish to participate, as actively as possible, in the formation of a socialist legal nation, to be based upon principles of democracy and openness."

I. Nekrosius stated that such a desire could not become an actuality until the advent of restructuring. He cited the following individuals as comprising the "nucleus" of the initiative group: "Lawyers V. Pavilonis, A. Marcijonas, V. Mikelenas, A. Cirtautas, and P. Rasimavicius. He noted opinions differed regarding the structure and activities of such an association or union. A draft of its statutes was drawn up.

P. Rasimavicius observed that he joined the group somewhat later, adding that initiators for the group's establishment may be found within the republic procuracy, among members of the bar, at the supreme court, the ministry of justice and elsewhere.

When asked who can qualify to become a member of this union, P. Rasimavicius replied: "Any lawyer, wherever he may be working, young or retired, who is known for his iniative and has a higher education degree, may become a member. As was noted in the draft of its statutes, published in the 9 December issue of KOMJAUNIMO TIESA, citizens of foreign countries, who have done great service for the development of the Lithuanian SSR's legal science and practice, and the preparation of the science cadres, are also eligible to be among its members."

I. Nekrosius added: "To my way of thinking, journalists who are, of course, qualified to write on legal subjects and other republic citizens whose professions have something in common with law preservation."

P. Rasimavicius also stated that territorial and inter rayon chapters have the option of deciding who may join, following recommendations of individuals who acknowledge its statutes. Chapters may be established following meetings, during which a minimum of 10 people have expressed the wish to join.

I. Nekrosius stressed the importance of initial meetings concerned with the formation of the union, taking place during December, January and the early part of February, so that lists may be drawn up of those planning to participate in the forthcoming republic lawyers' union congress, which is scheduled for February. These lists, as well as comments and proposals relative to draft statutes, are to be forwarded to the given address by 15 February.

The interviewer asked for a definition of the union and of its goals and tasks.

P. Rasimavicius replied: "It is a voluntary professional union of republic lawyers-scientists-practical workers. Its goal—to actively participate in the formation of a socialist legal state, union activities are based on democratic and openess principles. It will assist in forming the legal consciousness of our republic's citizens, in strengthening and practical realization of basic rights, freedoms and duties of citizens, and also of social justice; it will also strengthen ties between juridical science and practice. Special interest sections are planned within the union, for instance, for implementation of justice, for ecology, young specialists and others."

I. Nekrosius continued, "The lawyers' union will present its conclusions on statute act drafts under consideration and, upon request by the state organs, will be able to conduct studies on the effectiveness of existing standard acts, on a contractual basis; it will also submit proposals on currently existing laws and update their implementation, while taking into account draft preparation for standard acts.

Membership dues will consist of a R3 initial fee, plus a monthly fee equal to 2 percent of the individual's basic monthly salary. Union funds will be supplemented by proceeds from contract work, donations and other means. The union also plans to engage in publishing.

Lithuanian Local Industries Minister Replaced

LD0502210889 Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian 3 Jan 89 p 3

[Summary] "Grigory Simenko was released from his post as minister of the Lithuanian SSR Ministry of Local Industries by a decree adopted by the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium in connection with his retirement.

"Igor Izveskov has been appointed minister of the Lithuanian SSR Ministry of Local Industry." Igor Izveskov was born in 1945, he is Russian, a graduate of Moscow Power Engineering Institute and Acadmey of Social Sciences at the CPSU Central Committee. He speaks Lithuanian.

Lithuania Gets Copy of Hitler-Stalin Document

AU0502183689 Franfkfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 4 Feb 89 p 1

[Horst Schreitter-Schwarzenfeld report: "The Foreign Ministry Met a Wish of Lithuania's Communists"]

[Excerpt] Bonn, 3 February—The Baltic Soviet Republic of Lithuania, and Poland as well, have shown an interest lately in disseminating a secret supplementary protocol to the German-Soviet Treaty of 1939 in which the dictators Hitler and Stalin had defined their mutual territorial interests. The Foreign Ministry in Bonn was helpful. It sent the Lithuanian Communists a requested copy of this secret protocol which so far had been ignored by historians in the East.

In its January issue, the English language periodical, THE WARSAW VOICE, a publication of the official Polish Interpress agency, published the document in connection with a description of the search for the original. In doing so, the Polish periodical quoted an article published by the organ of the Lithuanian Communist Party. This Polish language paper, titled CZERWONY SZTANDAR (RED BANNER), had tried in vain to find the original text in Moscow and Washington. The Lithuanian Communists finally found what they were looking for in Bonn. [passage omitted]

Estonian People's Front Appeal Marks Treaty Date
LD0302140389 Tallin Domestic Service in Estonian 1700 GMT 1 Feb 89

[Text] Full independence of the democratic Estonian Republic was recognized on 2 February, 1920, in the Tartu peace treaty concluded between the Estonian Republic and Soviet Russia. On the occasion of the 69th anniversary of the peace treaty, the board of the Estonian People's Front adopted an appeal. Among other things, it said that the peace treaty as a legal act has not forfeited its juridical significance, even today. Striving for a state based on the rule of law, one needs to turn to the juridical documents dealing with the relationship between Estonia and the Soviet Union in order to draw conclusions from them, which in the present-day situations take into account the people's right to self-determination.

Ukraine Government Examines Socioeconomic State
AU0202130189 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 24 Jan 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] As reported, on 19 January the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers held a session to examine the republic's social and economic development in 1988 and the 3 years of the 12th 5-Year Period, and measures to accomplish the 1989 tasks. As a positive feature of the period under review, the participants in the discussion noted that, under the impact of the restructuring processes and of the strengthening new economic mechanism, economic activity has become more lively. In the current 5-year period, national income has been growing at an average annual rate of 4 percent against the 3.7 percent in the preceding 5-year period. Its entire increase has been achieved by increasing labor productivity, while the payroll has been cut by 0.7 percent. In the last 3 years, the real per-capita incomes of the population rose 5.9 percent. Compared with the 11th 5-year period, the rate of increasing industrial and agricultural production has increased. The builders are working more successfully, and last year they fully met the targets for putting houses, schools, and medical and children's preschool facilities into service. It was emphasized that better results had been achieved by enterprises that had switched over to full economic accountability and self-financing.

At the same time the participants in the session noted that the endeavors to make the national economy more dynamic and balanced had failed. Insufficient attention has been paid to efforts to save resources, as well as to introducing low-waste and waste-free technologies and other achievements of scientific-technological progress. Slow progress has been made in providing the population with foodstuffs and manufactured goods, housing, and various kinds of services. The shortcomings noted have to a large extent been caused by the insufficient use made by ministries, departments, oblispolkoms, and gorispolkoms of the economic methods of management. Their leading functionaries do not always bear in mind the political results of the decisions made, and frequently assume narrow-minded departmental positions.

The speakers expressed anxiety at a such an adverse phenomenon as wages increasing ahead of labor productivity, particularly in 1988. This trend has been registered at enterprises first of all under the republic's State Agro-Industrial Committee, Ministries of the Light Industry, of the Forestry Industry, of the Construction Materials Industry, and of Land Reclamation and Water Resources; at Chernovtsy, Khmelnitskiy, Crimean, Zhitomir, and Transcarpathisn Oblast enterprises; as well in construction organizations in Kiev, Kirovograd, and Zhitomir Oblasts.

Cash payments increasing in excess of the plan and ahead of the production of goods and the expansion of the service sphere cause strain on the consumer market and bring about complications in fulfilling the cash plan. As noted in the speeches, trade enterprises are continuously short of manufactured goods and food necessities. The republic's ministry of the light industry and many oblasts are not coping with the tasks set by the comprehensive program for developing the production of consumer goods and the sphere of services in the years 1986-2000. At many enterprises, the production of inexpensive necessities is in decline.

The republic's government has taken steps to eliminate phenomena of this kind. In particular, economic incentives have been provided in the current year to fill the state order for the supply of cheaper-bracket goods. In addition, oblispolkoms and gorispolkoms have been instructed to sell in the field all goods manufactured in excess of the plan.

The session thoroughly scrutinized the situation in the agro-industrial complex. It was noted that, notwithstanding some positive results and the increased purchases of most agricultural produce, the rate of developing production still falls short of the targets set by the Food Program. While pleading increased independence, leaders of many farms indulge in parochialism, and reduce cultivated areas and the output of produce that are essential for the population. This applies specially to vegetables and fruit. Thus, despite the fact that demand for cucumbers has not been met for several recent years, the areas under this crop have shrunk by almost one-third and their yields declined by nearly 34 percent. Despite the palpable shortage of meat and milk, the number of cattle, particularly of cows, has declined. There are significant losses in production because of the low technological level of processing enterprises. At the same time inadequate use is being made of funds allocated for the construction of facilities to store and process agricultural raw materials. The session called the attention of the Ukrainian SSR State Agro-Industrial

Committee and oblispolkoms to the need to radically change their attitude to this matter, which has to be given top priority in the agro-industrial complex.

There are many shortcomings in the work of a national economic branch as important as capital construction. The number of "eternal" projects ["dolgostroi"] practically does not drop. A substantial change for the better has not been made in the construction of production facilities in the light, local, and forestry industries, which are accountable for nearly half the output of non-food goods.

Notwithstanding the gravity of the housing problem, in the 3 years unutilized capital investments from two financing sources alone, from the state and from housing construction cooperative societies, amounted to R240 million, a sum sufficient to build 1 million square meters of housing. The session found the construction of facilities for health services and public education to be unsatisfactory. Since the beginning of the 5-year period, the targets for utilizing funds allocated for these facilities have been missed by more than R143 million and by nearly R100 million, respectively. The utilization of state capital investments in the construction of facilities for cultural purposes has not exceeded 80 percent.

The session sharply criticized the attempts made under various pretexts by some oblispolkoms to reduce the construction volume of houses, medical facilities, and other facilities for social and cultural purposes. It called Kiev Gorispolkom's attention to the badly organized construction of the television studio complex, which fell short of the target by R2 million last year alone, as well as of a covered sports arena. There have been delays in the construction of the opera and ballet house in Kharkov and the musical and drama theater in Kirovograd.

It was emphasized that, to step up the volumes of construction and to meet the population's demand for building materials, the Ukrainian Ministries of Construction and of the Construction Materials Industry had to give priority to the development of their own material bases. However, the growing capital allocations for these purposes are being utilized in an unsatisfactory manner, too.

The Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers has obligated leaders of the republic's ministries, departments, oblispolkoms, and gorispolkoms to draw appropriate conclusions from the shortcomings that occurred in the work of national economic branches and the service sphere from 1985 to 1988, and to take steps to meet the 1989 targets without fail. The immediate task is to ensure that the economy develops dynamically, that the prosperity of the population grows, and that the population's needs for housing and for various goods and services are met. For this purpose it is essential to display more initiative and responsibility, and to more purposefully set about settling topical problems concerning the republic's socioeconomic development.

Kiev Street Renamed for Ukrainian Military Figure
LD0302130889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] A new name has been given to the former Zhdanov Street in Kiev. The gorispolkom named it in honor of Petr Sagaydachnyy, Ukrainian political and military figure of the 17th century. He did much for rapprochement with Russia and played an important role in the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people against Turkish enslavement. The people of Kiev plan to erect a monument in honor of the national hero.

Kirghiz KGB Chief Reassigned to Moscow
PM0202120589 Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 17 Jan 89 p 3

[KIRTAG report: "Meeting Held"]

[Text] A meeting of the personnel of the Kirghiz SSR KGB was held 16 January in connection with the transfer of V.A. Ryabokon to responsible work in the USSR KGB and the appointment of D.A. Asankulov as chairman of the republic KGB.

Addressing the meeting, USSR KGB Deputy Chairman V.A. Ponomarev dwelt on specific tasks in further improving Chekist activity stemming from the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, the 19th all-union party conference, and subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums.

Under the leadership of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee and the USSR KGB the processes of restructuring the activity of the republic KGB are gaining ever surer momentum, the meeting noted. Chekists are persistently learning how to work under modern conditions of increasing democracy and glasnost based on the further strengthening of ties with working people. It was stressed that the committee has taken a number of effective measures to prevent and foil subversive actions in the republic by enemy special services and various kinds of foreign anti-Soviet organizations.

The meeting was addressed by A.M. Masaliyev, first secretary of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee.

A. Dzhumagulov, chairman of the Kirghiz SSR Council of Ministers, took part in the meeting's work.

Other Kirghiz Government Changes

PM0202131589

[Editorial Report] Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 17 January 1989 carries on page 1 two Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decrees appointing A.A. Iordan as deputy chairman of the Kirghiz SSR Council of Ministers and D. Asankulov as republic KGB chairman.

On page 3 the same paper carries unattributed "Chronicle" reports stating that A.A. Iordan is relieved of his duties as chairman of the Kirghiz SSR State Committee for Motor Transport and Highways "in view of his reassignment," that V.A. Ryabokon is relieved of his duties as chairman of the Kirghiz SSR KGB "in view of his reassignment," and that O.B. Ponomarev is relieved of his duties as deputy chairman of the Kirghiz SSR Council of Ministers "in view of his retirement on pension."

*Turkmen Plenum Elects Party Secretary

WA1830028I Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Jan 89 p 1

[Article by L. Glazovskaya, TASS correspondent in Ashkhabad reporting especially for IZVESTIYA: "The Aspirant and His Program"]

[Text] An election for Central Committee secretary was held in a Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee Plenum. The secretary of a village party raykom was elected secretary by a margin of seven votes.

...There were three aspirants. One dropped out of the race voluntarily. An honest man, but by virtue of circumstances he turned out to have been under the command of leaders who had compromised themselves, and considered it impossible to participate in the election. In speaking to the participants of the plenum about this, the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee First Secretary S. A. Niyazov commented humanely and warmly on the ethical conduct of the Communist.

There was dead silence in the hall where the plenum was being held. Nothing like this had ever been seen or heard before. There was silence, dead silence, when one by one and with lowered, shamed heads the corrupt officials left this hall forever. Since that time, a purifying wind seems to have blown through its rows. But today's plenum is the exception. For within these walls was a struggle not for power, but for the right to be a leader. Two 40-year-old party raykom first secretaries vied for this right: Nurmukhamed Ashirov, Tedzhenskiy Rayon; and Baba Sakhatmuradov, Karakumskiy Rayon. Both went to the Turkmen Agricultural Institute, worked in their specialties, and moved through the party ranks. In general, typical biographies.

They sit in the first empty row: not rivals, but comrades-in-arms. Each had just described his program of activity for the post of Central Committee secretary, understanding the issues of the agro-industrial complex. It is hardly necessary to speak of how important this district is to the republic, which is emerging from the years of stagnation with difficulty. Here, in recent years, for the first time the raw cotton yields met the plan; 1.32 million tons were sold to the government. A great victory. But nobody was beating any drums about this; no prizes were awarded, as in earlier—but alas, not better—times. They have left too burdensome an inheritance. Empty, fallow land; the unjustifiable dominance of the cotton monoculture; and the absence of other cultivars, agricultural and economic, have translated into an inability to grow a rich harvest of fruit and vegetables in a fertile land. The traditions of melon-growing, the genuine field of the Turkmen people, have been lost and wasted.

N. Ashirov's program emphasizes intensifying agriculture. It is high time to switch to new forms of labor organization, which are not available quickly enough. Social problems, among the most difficult problems facing the republic, are high on his program's list.

In order to solve all these problems, a leader needs to use political and organizational culture, knowledge, and the ability to work selflessly.

B. Sakhatmudarov is also outstanding in this respect. In his program, he states: "Every patch of land, even old irrigated land that has fallen fallow, must be cultivated. We cannot raise the level of agriculture, cannot feed the people, if we don't learn to value and cultivate the land. We desperately need a complete program to increase efficiency in utilization of irrigable land, based on a restoration-program method of planning. It is just as necessary to organize an industrial reworking of production at the workplaces. The all-important task is providing the rural population with high-quality drinking water."

B. Sakhatmuradov speaks bitterly about the still-existent tradition of using child labor in the village.

Like his rival, the second aspirant speaks of social misfortune, the necessity of eradicate addenda and eye-wash (which still exist in the republic) and to rely on honest, competent personnel.

Who is to resolve these problems in the position of Central Committee secretary?

For quite some time, both men were equally favored; then B. Sakhatmudarov gained the advantage. It was as if a collective frame of mind were developing: The concrete was more evident in his program, the human emphasis. The seven-vote difference was confirmed in secret voting.

In noting the unprecedented nature of the plenum, the speakers forcefully and unanimously expressed their desire to strengthen and increase the Leninist democratic tradition within the party, which is being reborn in the republic.

One more detail—it could easily be omitted, but that would be the end. The workers from the agro-industrial complex abstained from discussing the candidates.... The inertia of old thinking had developed, the subordination syndrome. "And what if I say something against the new secretary?"

Fortunately, this did not escape the attention of the plenum participants. The party colleagues' caution was ostracized.

It is a complicated thing to suddenly break from harmful habits. We still have some trouble learning our lessons in democracy. The Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee Plenum became such a lesson.

'Antirestructuring' Forces Seen as 'Dangerous'

PM0302163589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Mark Zakharov article under the rubric "Viewpoint": "An Insider's Advice"]

[Text] A major creative artist need not be given a list of tasks stemming from state resolutions or speeches by authoritative leaders. A major artist himself knows what he has to do in life. Providence will take care of him. But since I do not class myself as a major artist, and since providence today has more to do than ever before, I have formulated my own tasks. Tasks stemming from our extremely difficult reality.

First. To contribute as much as I can—it may be a hardly noticeable contribution, but a contribution nevertheless—to resolving the painful problem of ethnic relations. Not in words, of course, but in deeds, in other words on the stage of Moscow's Lenin Komsomol Theater. There is a good play by Gr. Gorin that is suitable for this purpose. Its title is not cheerful: "Memorial Prayer." Those two words are very much to the point today. I would like to pray for many things, and I would like to honor the memory of many people. It is a pity that I do not know how.

I make no claim at all about objectivity of reasoning, but it does seem to me that the community of nations living on the territory of our state must acquire some sort of new legal, economic, and international foundations. Our favorite expression "friendship of the peoples" is at times reminiscent of some medieval ritual incantation. I am running the risk of causing strong irritation, but I write what I think: In my view, there is a need for fundamentally different, maybe risky, but healing ideas of radical decentralization, multiplied at the same time by new principles of a cultural and economic community of peoples, a kind of new principle of united nations. Soviet ones. I would not be averse to making a thorough study of the UN structure.

All these are hellishly complex tasks. The best thing would be to shift the burden of solving these problems onto our grandchildren's shoulders. The time will come when they will have grown up, matured, and grown wiser—and then they will work things out. It looks, however, as if we will be unable to put this off even until such a time as our children have reached political maturity. It is the present generation of public figures and statesmen that will have to solve the ethnic problems.

The main point is to eliminate our republican organs' habit of always appealing to the center over all issues. To sensibly, gradually, and purposefully destroy the conditioned reflex that—supposedly—all questions and doubts must be resolved by Moscow or, best of all, by the general secretary himself.

A temporary decision was recently adopted on Karabakh. Since nobody makes any secret of the fact that it is temporary, I think that this most complex problem should be ultimately resolved, without any haste, by just the two republics and two peoples—Armenia and Azerbaijan—possibly with help from those whom they themselves invite to act as advisers or mediators. The only point is not to be afraid of protracted talks. They can be useful at times. Please excuse my peremptory director's tone, but let the two republics, with the passage of time, nominate representative delegations for talks on neutral territory, and let these delegations briefly inform the USSR public of their work each week. Let them report each month in a detailed communique, even if they have not made the slightest progress. Let their initial meetings be reminiscent of slow-moving international talks on an armistice or disputed borders. Sooner or later the two talented peoples with their shared offspring will realize the need for reciprocal compromises, as well as the need to curb the corrupt instigators. Let them actually go through all the difficulties of producing constructive agreements, and let them become familiar with the burden of peace dialogues in general, rather than demonstrating their mutual intolerance to Moscow. I even hope that the two peoples will eventually come to realize that nobody in this world can unilaterally revise borders. There are ideas like national pride, sovereignty, state dignity, republican honor, and so on.

The second task I have set myself is to assist by all possible means in eliminating the social tension which, alas, exists in our fatherland. Despite the joyful and at times happy restructuring changes, I still sense the presence of a new wave of resistance—somewhat different, more sophisticated, and therefore more dangerous. This may be because recently there have been signs of radical

changes. (In my view, some antirestructuring structures were faster in restructuring themselves in an advantageous direction than the forces which count themselves as restructuring forces.)

In this context, I am interested in absolutely all opinions in our society's diverse social groups. I keep in contact—and I love to be in contact—with all sorts of people. Even fools give me pleasure. Everybody has a different opinion these days, and there is just one difficulty: I cannot always determine the qualitative and quantitative importance of what I have heard. Serious sociological studies in our country come up against visible and invisible barriers. Sociologists, like historians, still lack the freedom enjoyed by today's writers or producers (we are virtually free from censorship, especially in the large cities). But a sociologist may experience serious difficulties if, for example, he decides to examine V.I. Lenin as a subject of historical science; if he or a group of scientists begins, as is proper in serious science, to develop various ideas about different periods of Lenin's creative work.

But while reflecting on social tension, I would nevertheless like to raise another issue. The issue of so-called "ordinary" people who could at times be described as men on the street. I think at times they get the feeling that our top party leadership, the party and state leader for example, is being deliberately "exposed" by someone to a wave of negative emotions.

People of different cultural levels have now clearly realized that the administrative edict system created by Stalin and Brezhnev has a stable tendency toward degradation, but not so profound a tendency as to suddenly deprive people in particular regions of the country of salt, matches, and soap. Many people feel (and it is hard to dispute it) that some person or persons have a hand in industry's unsatisfactory work, very skillfully building up the volume of negative emotions and simultaneously creating—at times artificially—the shortages which are for some people a source of power and economic prosperity. This suspicion that the statewide situation is being deliberately aggravated is based on certain historical examples when the command apparatus intensified or, conversely, sharply diminished consumers' negative emotions. During the period of Khrushchev's ouster from power—I remember this well—goods whose absence evoked increased irritation vanished in Moscow for a few days. But the range of goods available in Moscow improved sharply for several days after the election of the new general secretary was announced. Not for long, but it did improve. Maybe this was a very naive and primitive ploy, but it was part of the arsenal of means used by Stalinist-Brezhnevite policy. It would be interesting to know: Has it been consigned to the archives, or is it still a weapon in the arsenal of today's apparatus?

My craft as a producer consists entirely of simulating on stage situations which do not exist in real life. Together with the artists, I often try to imagine "What would have happened if...." Say I were an active antirestructurer and were, for example, on the antirestructuring forces' staff together with N. Andreyeva and others of her ilk—if such a staff existed and had a precise postal address—I would give the antirestructuring leadership some very pertinent advice.

First. I would sharply reprimand those who so clumsily and crudely made the decision to impose restrictions on periodical subscriptions. Glasnost must be stifled and muted, but by means which are more sophisticated and less noticeable by the public at large. Such means do exist in the apparatus' arsenal; you need only think and recollect. Were I an antirestructurer, my advice would be that antirestructuring actions in the future be more sophisticated, better camouflaged, and even elegant.

For example, relying on a certain economic ignorance which is typical of us all and on widespread feelings, I would advise striking a sharp and unexpected blow against the cooperative movement. The initial, timid wave of the creation of cooperatives and the highly promising move toward Lenin's "civilized cooperative members" brought to the surface, as well as swindlers (who have existed and still exist everywhere—some of them even managed to wangle their way to the 19th party conference), a certain number of efficient and enterprising people. These people, some cinematography workers among them, accepted a certain degree of economic risk which is generally typical of healthy commodity production and the socialist market. Many cooperative members got themselves into debt, took out loans, and bought the necessary equipment but were later dealt an unexpected and extremely tangible blow in the form of a USSR Council of Ministers resolution. The resolution was beautifully named—"On Regulating Individual Types of Cooperative Activity..."—and began very cleverly with drugs and firearms.

In my opinion, some far from stupid and energetic people of a new generation have moved into antirestructuring areas of the apparatus. They have realized the danger threatening them when, for example, cooperative prices fall below state prices.

Scientists have discovered that a cancerous cell is a very complex self-regulating mechanism which sacrifices itself to kill the organism as a whole; but the dynamics of cancerous formations are at the same time cleverly balanced and built on firm laws of development and self-perfection. Individual apparatus structures created under Stalin did not suffer when he was unmasked, but were engaged and are still successfully engaging in self-regulating actions which have proved pretty durable. Many far from stupid people have perceived the situation perfectly well and have correctly concluded that they will be unable to compete against "civilized cooperative members" in the future. But the time for instantaneous suffocation was missed. The strategy is changing, and diverse tactical schemes are being elaborated

immediately, including one which truly smacks of legalized "bureaucratic racketeering"—the coupling of the decrepit state mechanism with the intensiveness of cooperatives. The forcible synthesis of commodity-oriented thinking with administrative edict formations: We know who will emerge victorious from such a forcible fusion.

Opponents must be respected. The restrictions on cooperative activity represent a major victory for the antirestructuring forces. In my opinion, it will generate a complex and lamentable chain reaction, including a brain and talent drain. The invisible threads of psychological and economic ties will stretch from here to lease contracts and other spheres of restructuring, including joint ventures. Even the theater's economy reacted immediately to the 29 December 1988 resolution. People who would have been only too happy to retire on pension under the new statute of the RSFSR Theatrical Workers Union, which was to their advantage, suddenly got worried and started having second thoughts. "Your pension entitlement," I was told by elderly artists, "could be demolished with equal success by those selfsame officials who are so successfully engaged in combating the cooperatives." People who had come to believe in the immutability of a law once adopted were given to understand in a skillfully camouflaged fashion: Just at the moment it's not worth believing in the state in the shape of certain powerful institutions. As Saltykov-Shchedrin put it: "You've got to wait." It is a pity, but that's it.

And for my last piece of "antirestructuring advice": Utilizing Stalin's ancient methods of procedure and proceedings, arrange matters so as to ensure that the USSR Supreme Soviet remains a ritual assembly which is entirely and totally dependent on a functioning bureaucratic apparatus. There are people who would like this very much, and they are doing something in this direction. I would advise them to immediately adopt amplifying documents like resolutions, instructions, explanations, and orders on all new decisions by the government and in all areas in general—why should they restrict themselves? In such a case they should not particularly fear changes: On the one hand, changes take place, but on the other they change nothing and threaten nobody.

It would be interesting to find out: What will people holding the opposite view, people interested in radical changes, manage to do? I would very much like to believe in the likelihood of bold state actions which would result in the formation in our country of solid economic mechanisms in no way inferior to their contemporary capitalist counterparts.

I would also like to believe that we will abandon the zeal of ignorant amateurs who are capable of compromising any cause by sensationalism and by fervor to the detriment of common sense, of swiftly reducing any useful initiative to the point of absurdity. Did we not see for ourselves how the struggle against alcoholism adopted barbaric forms—vineyards were rooted out, and the slogan "defeat this social evil and consign it to oblivion within 2 years" was raised.

To be perfectly frank, I am convinced that, in some organizational and economic spheres, it would be very useful for us all to give up the title of "trailblazers," to moderate our own pride, and in many cases to take advantage of the achievements of contemporary civilization on earth.

I was present in the UN Assembly Hall when the thesis of the "deideologization of international relations," which struck me with its boldness and depth, was first heard there. Could this really be the time to abandon some internal doctrines which symbolize our commitment to certain traditions which should have been replaced a long time ago in view of their natural clinical death? This does not run contrary to the fundamentals of dialectical materialism. Could it be better to become trailblazers in science, technology, art, literature, and—among other things—politics? The last, it seems to me, is beginning to happen. Seriously. I thank those who have changed the ideas about our potential and our flexibility in this area.

I have understood a lot on studying statements by our new leader and the new generation of Soviet current affairs writers, but I have been left with problems which I simply cannot work out. There are quantitative formations which cannot be brought under a common denominator. Our gigantic state with all its regional diversity cannot apply the same identical instructions, recommendations, resolutions, and maybe even laws. The same applies to the party. If it grows beyond a certain quantitative point (this is not my idea, it is Lenin's), the result is a certain tension and organizational difficulties, which, as is well known, were disregarded by Stalin when he expanded the party's numerical strength to a gigantic size. He was right there. It suited him to do so.

I know that there are words and ideas which strike into us a primitively superstitious terror like, for example, "exploitation of man by man." (As a matter of fact, it is an extremely complex matter trying to explain what this means in the conditions of a developed industrial society with abundant social and legal guarantees.)

I think that the time has come to replace certain terms in the proletarian vocabulary of the past, which was born at the dawn of this century. For example, being a fairly cautious person, I would not like to use the words "fraction" but, at the same time, I am firmly convinced that differences in strategic and tactical creativity must exist within the party.

I cannot treat all people in the same way—this may be part of the flaws of democracy which I am trying to learn. So far, my self-tuition is progressing with difficulty. To present the problem crudely and simply, this is what I

would like to do: Elect a head of state and entrust him with the power to form a staff of state leadership to suit his own taste and at his own discretion (for as long as he remains head of state).

But if all major party leaders submit themselves to the voters in a general list—I should know about any nuances in positions and approaches, throughout the creative, political, and ideological spectrum.

I understand that the principles for this year's elections to the Supreme Soviet have been elaborated and adopted. But maybe we should not perceive them as final and historically immutable? Maybe we will continue the work we began in 1985—thinking?

Generally speaking, if I learn about and study some natural positional differences and even debates among members of the Politburo, my respect for these people is not likely to diminish, it will increase.

I would like to adopt exactly the same attitude toward arguments among the creative intelligentsia. They are, in my opinion, inevitable. Yes, despite the fact that the creative intelligentsia has always been highly strung and even unbalanced, the dialogue and any polemics here must be proper and in line with the principles of a civilized rule-of-law state and with almost extinct ideas like personal dignity, propriety, and honor.

It's a fact: Corruption and degradation—professional, creative, party, and simply human—affected not just former members of the Politburo and even some glorified "Leaders," the times also deformed directors, writers, artists, and social scientists. It is a phenomenon of restructuring that it is incumbent upon our press to raise problems of morality, to bring into the open rather than to cover up individual differences in the environment of creative building.

Things have always been the same. Russian literature has known Pushkin, who ended up deep in debt, and Bulgarin, who prospered; Nadson, whose popularity knew no bounds, and Blok, who died of malnutrition; Nekrasov and Kukolnik; Chernyshevskiy, who almost threw himself on the barricades, and Tyutchev, who maintained a balanced approach; and none of them demanded a mandatory group production association where they would always work as members of a single craft cooperative. There are personality features and shortcomings which could complicate even a joint flight by two excellent cosmonauts.

And this brings us to shortcomings. Primarily one's own. A sense of envy is only too frequent a visitor. I was, for example, bright green with envy when I attended a concert of modern classical music in a provincial U.S. city. You couldn't believe the size of the audience, mainly young people. The performance was heard (or rather experienced) with rare attention and ended with what seemed to be never-ending applause, but once it was over large numbers of those selfsame young people who were with me in the audience made their way to a discotheque to twitch to a bass guitar beat. I made my way to the hotel feeling envious: "There it is, that damned pluralism!" A discussion on "Who is better (more useful)—Surikov or Kandinsky" is out of the question for them. They would find it stupid and pointless, whereas I want to gain a tangible, utility benefit from everything, like a latter day Vera Pavlovna (from Chernyshevskiy's "What Is to Be Done?").

One last, and extremely personal point. (Another shortcoming.) West Berlin producer Peter Stein, who toured our country at the invitation of the USSR Theatrical Workers Union with an amazing production of Chekhov's "Three Sisters" which I found so striking, told me this story: A small portrait of A.P. Chekhov hangs on stage among the decorations and genuine Russian props. The viewers do not usually notice it. But the West Berlin actors wanted it this way so that, before the show starts, they could go up to it and kiss Anton Pavlovich's picture.

Having given the matter some thought, I admitted to P. Stein that I could not think of a single German whose picture I would like to kiss before appearing on stage. P. Stein laughed without feeling insulted. He understood what I meant. As for me, I felt disappointed in myself. I made my way home and thought about it. I, educated under Stalin, had the firm knowledge: Samurai must be killed, Basmaks must be encircled, and all Negroes must be sincerely loved because they are Negroes. Afterward I felt altogether bitter because I remembered that, in my recent life, there was a time when my sympathies lay only with Armenians. They were nearer and dearer to me than the Azerbaijanis.

Now my sympathies are equally shared between the two. There is no other way out for me. But I realize that I am free to apportion these sympathies of mine. My freedom is a conscious need. I read this expression, which people attribute to Spinoza, in one of Hegel's works—I could not think it up myself. I will hang Hegel's portrait in the theater, on stage. Maybe, with the passage of time, some actors would feel like kissing him. I still find it hard, but I will keep on trying.

Former OGONEK Editor on Restructuring

PM0302091589 Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 29 Jan 89 p 12

[Interview with former OGONEK literary editor Feliks Nikolayevich Medvedev by Thomas Parland on 28 December 1988: "The Voice of Perestroyka"; place not specified]

[Text] Feliks Nikolayevich Medvedev was head of OGONEK's literary department until the end of last year. HUFVUDSTADSBLADET interviewed him 28 December 1988.

[Parland] OGONEK is considered to be the leading organ of restructuring. Why is that?

[Medvedev] The whole thing began after the party Central Committee plenum in April 1985, when all press organs were given the same freedom to write about more or less anything at all. However, the view taken of restructuring was by no means clear-cut. Many periodicals did not consider in the least that Soviet society should be renewed; they feared change. It was then that OGONEK stepped forward in its new role. We had been blessed with a new chief editor, Vitaliy Korotich, who had previously edited a periodical in Kiev. He proved to have a modern view of our society and its history. He feels sympathy for so-called Western values, spent a long time in the United States, and has visited Canada. There is every reason to call him a man of our age's endeavors to achieve democratization.

[Parland] How did the readers react to OGONEK's new direction?

[Medvedev] I remember clearly how interest in the periodical grew as each new edition appeared. This happened in the fall of 1985, when material had been published about the great Russian poet Gumilev's tragic fate, about the serious abuse of power in the militia in Petrozavodsk, about facts from the war in Afghanistan, and about suppressed and forgotten Russian writers of our own century. It was then that a veritable hunt for OGONEK began; everyone wanted the magazine which previously had lain unsold in newspaper kiosks.

OGONEK's bold line created new possibilities for glasnost; every article published meant a few more centimeters or millimeters of newly conquered territory. The revelations about Moscow's commercial mafia and about environmentally damaging chemicals used in cotton cultivation in Uzbekistan attracted real interest.

The crowning glory were articles which revealed examples of Stalin's contempt for the law. In this context I published my interview with Bukharin's widow. I had another interview with writer Chingiz Aytmatov, who pointed out the most difficult problems of our age without glossing over anything.

[Parland] OGONEK has also gained many opponents because of its revelatory journalism. How have these opponents reacted?

[Medvedev] Countermoves have been most varied. Our magazine was officially banned from attending the kolkhoz farmers' all-union congress in the summer of 1988. The ban was published in facsimile in the subsequent number of OGONEK. We have continued to be hit by censorship despite all assertions to the contrary. Higher authorities have, for example, interfered in the magazine's choice of material.

OGONEK has had mud slung at it in the nationalistic and Stalinist literary-political periodical MOLODAYA GVARDIYA, in MOSKVA, and in other press organs. Our magazine has also been attacked in many public contexts, for example, at writers' meetings.

In the beginning the editorial team received many letters from readers categorically rejecting OGONEK's line. There were those who went to the party's Central Committee and Politburo with their complaints, who turned to Gorbachev or Yakovlev. And then we had to explain ourselves.

It has also been possible to detect resistance to OGONEK's line inside certain central ministries. According to what I have heard, the Defense Ministry has not allowed conscripts to read the magazine in garrison reading rooms. Even a year ago such measures could to some extent reduce OGONEK's circulation. Today the situation is better and the magazine appears in an edition of 3.3 million.

[Parland] Could you name the most typical opponents of OGONEK in the field of literature, and the circles who are chiefly opposed to the magazine?

[Medvedev] In a symbolic sense the notorious Nina Andreyeva (the author of a "manifesto" of the opponents of restructuring published in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 13 March 1988) is without a doubt OGONEK's angriest enemy. This name embodies all the hate and hostility which our magazine engenders among fairly wide social circles in our country. These are people who do not want the cruelties of the Stalin era to be revealed, who are in their seventies, and who served in the past in Stalin's machinery of repression, in the legal system. They are people who were guilty of inhuman actions, who took the lives of tens or hundreds of thousands of people, and who have preserved up to this very day the concentration camps in northern Russia and the Far East. There are still large numbers of such people [Saadana foerekommer fortfarande i stort antal].

Today the number of people who succumbed to Stalin's terror is estimated in tens of millions. We can only guess at the numbers who worked within the machinery of repression—in practice, the whole of the country's bureaucracy and administration. Today all of 18 million people are employed in this sphere. However, there are many more opponents of restructuring if you include family members. In rough terms you can talk of 60 million people who do not like restructuring or its embodiment, OGONEK.

OGONEK has a particularly large number of opponents among the writers, who during the years of stagnation were given various awards and became rich by publishing their artistically weak works in mass editions. This assessment of them is based on readers' preferences today.

OGONEK also comes up against opposition among the Army leadership. The same can be said of an institution like the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, an embodiment of and a mouthpiece for the enormous army of all the teachers and pedagogues.

The magazine is read by an estimated 10 to 20 million people—as against an incredibly comprehensive stratum of society which represents diametrically opposed views and opinions.

[Parland] How do you view the traditional Russian anti-Semitism? What forms does it take today?

[Medvedev] Very recently I chaired a panel debate at the Plekhanov Institute in Moscow. Among those taking part were radio journalist Aleksandr Milyakov, who has searched for and discovered mass graves from the Stalin era in Moscow, and the daughter of the formerly censored and silenced but all the more notorious dramatist, poet, and song writer Aleksandr Galich. This event was attended by many representatives of the Pamyat Society (Russian nationalist and anti-Semitic), that is, the section of our society which in several respects dislikes restructuring, and they caused a great deal of uproar. They demanded to be allowed to speak to the gathering and present a list of 120 Jews, who, they said, had been guilty of Russia's ruin in the period since 1917. They were not given access to the microphone, but instead they came with a whole series of provocative questions.

It was impossible to carry on a discussion based on fact with them as representatives of a very particular view of the history of the Soviet Union. It was not Stalin but the Jew Kaganovich (Stalin's right-hand man in the thirties) who was guilty of all the mass executions and reprisals in the past. All the high-level posts in the administration of the country and its economic life were reserved for Jews. According to Pamyat, Jews make up 40-53 percent of all students at higher education institutions in the country.

In all this we see a symbolic embodiment of the attitudes of one section of our society, of what you call Russian anti-Semitism. This description is not entirely correct, because anti-Semitism does not occur in the Russian countryside or in small-town Russia. I myself grew up in the country, as did my mother and grandmother. That is why it is a riddle to me that the expressions of anti-Semitism have become so striking in the past few years, particularly under restructuring. Much of what is happening now in our country gives rise to opposition and protests in certain circles which demonstrate their hostility toward Jews or other nationalities.

[Parland] How are things going for restructuring today?

[Medvedev] We are still advancing very slowly and laboriously. Broad circles in society are offering tough resistance to all changes. They oppose glasnost, the revelations of Stalin's crimes, and the truth about our history. Also they are unwilling to allow former Soviet citizens, who under Brezhnev and Suslov were forced to emigrate in the sixties, seventies, and eighties, to return to their homeland.

There are so many people who want to get a home immediately, have their refrigerators filled with sausage and other foodstuffs, and really want to have all their problems solved in one stroke. They do not realize that the situation today is very difficult, that it is the result of many, many years of mismanagement. They do not realize that Russia really is threatened with ruin, that people will soon not be able to breathe because of air pollution, that they are consuming poisoned food, that the ecological problems demand rapid solutions, that we still often manufacture poor-quality goods.

We have a large number of tasks to carry out. Many people complain about the high prices in the market squares where private trade takes place and are unwilling to visit the expensive—in practice, private—cooperative restaurants or cafes. Things are very difficult for Gorbachev, and the present situation will persist for a long time. God grant the Russian people and all Soviet citizens patience and endurance and also a firm faith in restructuring.

Museum's Stalin Era Exhibits Replaced

LD0202152989 Moscow TASS in English 1517 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 2 TASS—The Council of the Museum of Kliment Voroshilov (one of Stalin's closest associates) in Moscow decided to refurbish the display in the museum and to rename it into a museum of local lore and history. Kliment Voroshilov (1881-1969) was marshal of the Soviet Union, the USSR people's commissar of defence (1925- 1940), member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee (1926-1960), president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet (1953-1960).

Many exhibits—Voroshilov's uniforms, the model of the house in which he was born, will be moved to the museum's depository. Only some photographs related to Voroshilov's military activity will remain on display.

The museum's new exposition will contain photographs, documents, personal belongings of prominent Soviet military leaders Mikhail Frunze, Aleksandr Parkhomenko, Mikhail Tukhachevskiy and Pavel Rybalko.

*Poll on Familiarity With Once-Repressed Works

WA1800043 9 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Feb 89 p 3

[Article by V. Stelmakh: "New Old Books"]

[Text] " 'A Dog's Heart'? Yes, I have heard of it.. in an interview with Chelentano on TV... It was his favorite Russian book"—this was one of the answers to a questionnaire distributed by sociologists of the Lenin Library

just before the showing of a televised version of M. Bulgakov's story. We shall not smile condescendingly and reproach for his ignorance this person who just today heard of the second birth of once repressed literary treasures: "samizdat" and foreign publications of them circulated only in a very refined and closed segment of the reading public. So the judgments and evaluations of today's reader who has first become acquainted—and all at the same time—with the works of various literary periods and schools reflect the system of our ideas about literature and the level of education we have received.

And so, the results of the questionnaire. In the sampling—in which people with a higher education comprised 64.4 percent, and people with specialized secondary and general secondary education, 30.3 percent—those who have read "A Dog's Heart" comprise 57.7 percent, those who know of the existence of this work—28 percent ("like everyone, during the Bulgakov boom" "I heard that it was considered banned," "I learned of it from presentations in our theater"); and those who had never heard of it—13.5 percent.

The story by A. Platonov "The Pit": those who have read it—34 percent; those who know of its existence—36.1 percent ("from OGONEK," "from the press," "from announcements in NOVYY MIR," "from promises from the editorial board," "from literary scholarship (foreign)," "I read about it in the newspapers," "from coworkers"); those who had neither read it nor heard of it- -29.9 percent.

The situation with the works of V. Nabokov, "Other Shores," and Ye. Zamyatin, "We," is approximately the same: those who had read these works—11.5 and 14.9 percent of those questioned, respectively; those who know of the existence of these books—27.4 and 29.3 percent ("I found out about them from the press this year," "I have read something but do not remember the name of it"); those who have neither heard of nor read them—61.1 and 55.8 percent, respectively ("an unknown writer," "I do not know Nabokov, but now they are writing about him as though he were a significant writer.")

V. Grossman's novel "Life and Destiny" had better luck—rumors and the press helped. Those who had read it comprised 34.6 percent; those who know of the novel's existence—36.3 percent ("I learned about it from articles," "I learned about it from the program 'Good Evening, Moscow!'" "I have a foggy notion of it," "generally," "my friends got me interested in it"); those who had neither read nor heard of it—28.9 percent.

B. Pasternak's novel "Doctor Zhivago" is a household word today, as it was 30 years ago, but with one significant difference—that today the text is allowed: those who have read it—53.4 percent; those who know its existence—35 percent ("from people in general," "from a random acquaintance," "from an old literary scholar," "I heard excerpts on the radio," "I know only that it was not published here," "a little bit from the press," "it seems that it was written during the thirties—a typist who had a copy sent it abroad, where it was printed and won the Nobel prize but the authorities forced Pasternak to refuse it," "I learned about it from the press, but I do not wish to read it: I understood that this is a novel about an intellectual who is falling apart and I do not have time to delve into a complex personality"); those who had neither heard of nor read the novel—11.6 percent.

It is clear that the readers' image of literature has been distorted. And it is not simply that the readers do not know about individual, even very significant names and works that have been culled out with the precision of a sniper. Entire cultural segments and literary eras have been removed along with them. But the returned "old new" literature is finding its place in the readers' social consciousness. They associate it with the sensational articles of A. Pristavkin, A. Rybakov, V. Dudintsev, D. Granin, and others, forming these names into a single series. And thus in the system of literary ideas this kind of literature does not have its own "slots": to questions about the history or the approximate time of creation of one work or another the answers are "I do not know" or "I have a foggy idea" or, at best, "it was written before (after) the war."

Of course the newspapers and magazines that have taken on the main work of resurrecting the true history of literature try to make it easier for the reader to master such a mass of artistic work of various kinds from various times, but to process it layer after layer with a sufficient degree of depth is not the task of the press; it should go further, handing the baton over to other social institutions, above all the schools and libraries. So far we have not been permitted to conduct a questionnaire among students in senior classes in one of the schools, since, in the opinion of the teachers, "this is not the kind of literature with which one should educate youth." And it is difficult for the reader himself to get away from the system of ideas about literature that has taken form in preceding decades—which is integrated and harmonious in its own way, but the main thing is that there are no alternatives. As one of the readers wrote: "One does not want to abandon ideals..."

*Plans for USSR Lawyers' Union Ill-Received

WA1800047 2 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 2 Feb 89 p 2

[Article by A. Move, chairman of the section for criminal law and criminal procedure of the Moscow Oblast College of Barristers: "Should There Be a Lawyer's Union?"]

[Text] The constituent congress of the country's lawyers was to have opened at the end of December of last year in Moscow. It was to create an independent, self-governed association (union) of soviet lawyers, to adopt a charter, and to elect the leaders, and also nominate candidates for USSR people's deputies.

The announcement of this appeared in SOVETSKAYA KULTURA and in PRAVDA. "A professionally strong, courageous, and independent association of lawyers is undoubtedly one of the cherished hopes of the society and a mandatory attribute of a rule-of-law state,"—this is how our eminent figures in science and culture responded to this. Among them are academicians N. Bogolyubov and K. Valiyev, and doctors of jurisprudence A. Mishin, M. Rozovskiy, O. Tabakov, M. Ulyanov, and M. Khutsiyev.

But the widely proclaimed congress never took place. Rather, it was forced to be canceled.

The fact is that the very idea of creating an independent, self- governing union of lawyers from the very beginning was given a hostile reception by none other than the Ministry of Justice which, grasping on to the clearly outdated Law on the Bar, tried with all its might to retain "general guidance" and put forth the idea of some council of the college of barristers which would consist of the chairman of the presidiums of the colleges. Hence, the same administrators.

The previously created public organizing committee, which represents 110 colleges of barristers in the country, was also abolished through the efforts of the ministry. The result? The bar, represented by its all-union public organization, was deprived of the possibility of participating actively in the electoral campaign. The situation that developed was more than just strange. Social and sports organizations, all-union societies of philatelists and designers, the voluntary society for the fight against drunkenness...all send their deputies to the highest agency of state authority. Well, what about lawyers- -who are not philatelists and not designers? Those who are no longer actively engaged in major sports but have not yet entered the society for fighting against drunkenness? And in general what does a rule-of-law state mean without legal experts and without their participation in the highest agency of authority?

To replace the eliminated Ministry of Justice, according to a list submitted by Deputy Minister M. P. Vyshinskiy, they have created "their own" new organizing committee, and every line on this list contains the word "chairman."

It might be objected that the leaders of the colleges of barristers are the same elected officials, the same practicing lawyers... But judge for yourselves: the chairman of the presidium of the Ashkhabad college of barristers is the former deputy minister of internal affairs of Turkmenia; the Georgian chairman is the republic's former deputy prosecutor; and in the position of chairman of the presidium of the Moldavian college for a long time was an official of the Moldavian Council of Ministers, and when he departed his place was taken by a former member of the republic supreme court. And so forth, and things are largely the same in Pskov, Kiev, Magadan...

In recent years the bar has received many former workers of the police, the procurator's office, and the courts. Many of them have proved themselves fairly well in their new walks of life. And if they were elected to the positions of leaders of the colleges, hardly anyone would object. But in this case moving from one high position to another took place most frequently as transit, through "old boy appointments," passed off as so-called "elections"—elections in which there was no choice other than the "former" figure suggested above. Through "old boy appointments" during the long years of stagnation, the bar formed its own sample list of leaders. What could be accomplished by the creation of yet another management superstructure that is subservient to the Ministry of Justice? It is not difficult to understand.

Something else is difficult to understand. Upon investigation it becomes clear that the very word "self-government," which is now becoming a stable part of our vocabulary, is absolutely incomprehensible to our bureaucrats. Self-government? Of course. But under the general leadership of state administrators. Is this not a play on words?

Alas, the experience we have acquired shows that this play on words ends up nearly always as obvious resistance to the creation of public organizations, in other words, ignoring Article 51 of the Constitution.

All this leads to the idea of the critical need for legal regulation of the status and policy for creating public organizations. The law in effect at the present time—"Provisions on Voluntary Societies and Their Unions," which was ratified by a decree of the VTsIK [All-Russian Central Executive Committee] and the SNK [Soviet of People's Commissars] RSFSR on 10 August 1932, that is, 57 years ago, is clearly outdated and does not meet the requirements of the present day. It seems that the publication of the new law, a draft of which, of course, should be published and publicly discussed before it is approved, would remove many obstacles and difficulties from the path to the creation of public, truly self-governing organizations.

This is especially important for such a public organization as the bar, since it would be especially harmful for it to come under the control of the state. I am convinced that only a desire to reinforce and expand intervention in the activity of the bar can explain all the passions that have flared up around the creation of a Union of Soviet Lawyers and the unhealthy situation that is developing around the draft of additions and amendments that is being prepared for the "Law on the Bar." The demands of the legal community that the draft be made public before it is approved have been ignored so far.

We need to have a strong, courageous, and self-governed bar.

Official Details Plans for Arctic Development

LD3101130189 Moscow TASS in English 1112 GMT 31 Jan 89

[Text] Murmansk January 31 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vasiliy Belousov:

The results of the recent expedition aboard the "Rossiya" nuclear-powered ice-breaker will aid the making of plans for further development of the Soviet Arctic coastal and sea area, the TASS correspondent was told by Dmitriy Zotov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers' Commission for Arctic Affairs.

"To coordinate activities of Arctic-oriented all-union ministries and departments is the commission's main task", he said. "There are now over four dozen of them".

Much attention has lately been paid to coordinating international activities in the Arctic regions, said Dmitriy Zotov. "Following Mikhail Gorbachev's well-known Murmansk October 1987 initiatives, the interest in the region sharply increased not only in the near-Arctic, but also in many other states. It became necessary to internationally regulate man's activities there. These questions were discussed at an international conference in Leningrad last autumn. The conference was held by the USSR Academy of Sciences on the commissions's initiative. Over 500 scientists from different countries, who attend to problems of the extreme north, exchanged opinions on the state and ways of further joint development of the Arctic regions."

"In our activities we should invariably take into account the interests of the native residents of the extreme north", said Dmitriy Zotov. "And it is not coincidental that one of the first items discussed at our commission's meeting was a report from the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation, with a majority of the USSR's small peoples residing on its territory. A number of decisions were taken to improve the environment in the extreme north. Preparations are now under way for a discussion of state agencies' real assistance to the local authorities in activities to ensure the ecological efficiency of work being carried out in Russia's extreme north".

*CPSU Budget Revenues, Expenditures Outlined

WA1800048589 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 5, 4-10 Feb 89 p 8

[First two paragraphs are reader's question]

[Text] From what sources is the CPSU budget formed and what are its main expenditures?

G. Vinogradov, Uman, Cherkassy Oblast

The first issue of the new magazine IZVESTIYA TsK KPSS contained information from the Administration of Affairs of the CPSU Central Committee concerning the party budget for 1987. In it, in particular, it is announced that the main source of income for the party budget is party membership fees. In 1987 these amounted to 1.34 billion rubles, which was sufficient to finance only 81 percent of all budget expenditures. The rest of the expenditures were covered by deductions from the profit of enterprises under the jurisdiction of the Administration of Affairs of the CPSU Central Committee, central party publishing houses, and publishing houses of local party agencies.

The total expenditures in all areas of activity of party agencies during 1987 amounted to 1.657 billion rubles. These funds were used to finance the maintenance of 4,625 party committees of the rayon, city, okrug, oblast, kray, and republic levels, as well as their economic subdivisions; 216 houses of political education of party committees, 9,200 political education offices, of which 4,900 were in local party organizations; 14 higher party schools with a network of consulting points; 134 courses for increasing the qualifications of party, soviet, and ideological personnel; 16 institutes of party history and 153 party archives; 23 branches and memorial house-museums of V.I. Lenin; 529 universities of Marxism-Leninism and their branches; and central ideological institutions and higher party educational institutions under the CPSU Central Committee. Released workers have been maintained in 52,000 local party organizations.

Of the party budget funds, 88 percent, or 1.4589 billion rubles, were used to provide for the activity and development of the material base of local party committees and their institutions. Of this amount, 954 million went for maintaining party committees: their economic support and financing of the organizational work they do as well as maintenance of workers of local party organizations who have been released. A total of 85.9 million rubles were spent on financing the activity of party institutions and mass political work. Expenditures on the training and retraining of party, soviet, and ideological personnel amounted to 41 million rubles. There were 18,500 people studying in on-campus and correspondence divisions of higher party schools, and 145,400 in courses and seminars.

They spent 378 million rubles on the construction of facilities of local party agencies and party publishing houses, the repair of premises of party committees and party institutions, and the construction of housing.

Expenditures on the maintenance of central party institutions—the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, the All-Union House of Political Education, the Central Museum of V.I. Lenin, the Gorki Leninskiye state historical park, and the Academy and Institute of Social Sciences—amounted to 23.6 million rubles.

They used 103.5 million rubles in capital investments for development of the material base of central party institutions, central party publishing houses, and other facilities of the CPSU Central Committee Administration of Affairs.

For maintaining the staff of the CPSU Central Committee, providing economic support for its activity, and conducting plenums, conferences, and other measures they spent 50.4 million rubles—3 percent of the overall budget expenditures.

In addition to this, the CPSU spent 20.6 million rubles for other purposes, including international activity.

In the information it is noted that in recent years they have been more responsible for correct and thrifty expenditure of party funds. Estimates of expenditures on the maintenance of party committees and party institutions included savings on practically all items, which amounts to 51.9 million rubles for the party budget as a whole. The savings on management expenditures of local party committees amounted to 7.8 million rubles. They spent 1.6 million rubles less than planned on office needs, telephone bills, and interurban negotiations. Management expenditures were also significantly reduced compared to the estimate of the CPSU Central Committee staff for maintaining business under the jurisdiction of the CPSU Central Committee Administration of Affairs. At the same time, expenditures and business trips of workers of local party committees increased 10.5 percent compared to 1986, and for workers of the CPSU Central Committee staff they increased 29.5 percent.

IZVESTIYA TsK KPSS also gives information from checking on the fulfillment of the CPSU party budget. Called upon to help party organizations, Communists, and nonparty members judge the large amount of complicated work of higher party agencies for guiding the restructuring, the magazine will print documents and give information about party work. Previously unknown facts will be made available to the general public for analysis. We intend to regularly inform our readers of some of these.

Economic

Council of Ministers Discusses Foreign Trade

PM0602153189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Feb 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Conference Held"]

[Text] On 4 February a conference was held at the USSR Council of Ministers to discuss questions of restructuring the country's foreign economic ties and tasks for their further improvement in the course of the economic reform.

V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers State Foreign Economic Commission, opened the conference and delivered a report.

There was an analysis of the results of the foreign economic activity of USSR ministries and departments, union republics' councils of ministers, associations, enterprises, and organizations in conditions of improving foreign economic ties and granting broad rights to conduct export and import operations on the foreign market. The conference participants exchanged work experience and discussed problems that occur and ways of tackling them. It was noted that the further development and improvement of foreign economic activity is of great significance for the solution of very important national economic tasks.

Participating in the work of the conference were leaders of USSR ministries and departments; deputy chairmen of union republics' councils of ministers, Moscow Gorispolkom, Leningrad Gorispolkom, Moscow Oblispolkom, and Leningrad Oblispolkom; leaders of ministries' foreign economic associations, union republics' departments, associations for business cooperation with foreign countries, and associations, enterprises, and organizations involved in independent foreign economic activities; the general directors of a number of joint ventures; leading scientists; and representatives of educational establishments engaged in training and retraining cadres for the foreign economic complex.

B.L. Tolstykh, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, and CPSU Central Committee department chiefs V.M. Falin and V.I. Shimko participated in the conference's work.

*Causes of Inflation, Shortages Considered

WA1827005289 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Feb 89 p 2

[Article by Vasiliy Parfenov: "An Unexpected Guest"]

[Text] A healthy economy will not tolerate disproportions. The best arranged system of indicators consisting of the most eloquent figures, unless they have a stable labor basis, are essentially a brightly painted fence that separates us from the realities of life.

For many decades one of the common "truths" was the assertion that our economy is developing harmoniously, completely in keeping with the law of proportional development of all branches and regions. But the April glasnost reveals in our plans such imbalances and disproportions that it will take more than a couple of years to get rid of them...

The most painful and critical imbalance, which has developed over many five-year plans and seems not to have been noticed by Gosplan and the Ministry of Finance, is the violation of the natural harmony between the quantity of paper money in circulation and the mass of various kinds of high-quality goods in the stores and markets. This violation has a name—inflation. This is not our word. It came to us from abroad. And we

journalists for many decades associated inflation exclusively with the West: "Only there are inflation and unemployment possible, and here there can be no such things because they can never exist here..." This is a sophism which is convenient when you do not want to see your shortcomings. Now, during the years of the revolutionary restructuring, more attention is being paid to this dangerous imbalance in the economy. And the most important thing is how to eliminate it with minimal losses.

Perhaps the main reason for the lack of balance between money and goods is the excessive attraction to construction of gigantic costly plants, transcontinental canals, dams, and so forth. The designers are developing a new machine. Let us construct new facilities to produce it, but next door in buildings that are not yet old, an outdated model of the same machine is coming from the conveyers. Such was the case recently in Moscow—with the changeover to the output of a new model of Moskvich.

As a result it turned out that we spent 60-70 percent of the money over the decades on the construction of foundations, walls, and roofs for new plant buildings, and the rest we spent on equipment for the shops that actually produce products for the market. It was because of this incorrect expenditure of capital investments that inflation originated: "State" money was squandered on the construction of many things and gobs of money were given out to people in the form of wages and bonuses, but during this same period an incomparably small quantity of products were produced that could be purchased with all this money.

The actual reason for the economically unjustified expenditure of public money on ineffective construction is most likely our passion for an eloquent growth figure and our devotion to "reportomania." It has been considered most important to provide for high rates of growth in production and to catch up with and get ahead of other countries in terms of volumes of output of products. By products we meant primarily steel and coal, petroleum and cement, tractors and excavators. And such "trivia" as clothing, footwear, and food products until quite recently were placed in the background. Production gradually turned its back on man. In response to this, man also turned his back on production. It was thought that it was possible to catch up with the West more rapidly only if giant plants were constructed. But then we became convinced that the larger the scale of the enterprise, the longer it took to construct it, the more money floated away in wages, and the more difficult it was to change it over to the output of new products.

In order to impress the world with unprecedented growth rates, we decided as early as 1931 to include all expenditures (including expenditures on raw and processed materials) in the volume of work and to link the growth of labor productivity directly to this volume. This "growth" was largely mythical. Here is the "big lie" to the rescue. One recalls the ability of certain amphibians to inflate their throats and bellies in the presence of a stronger enemy. And the dangers for the young Russia were real. Fascism had broken out in Germany. In the East the Japanese samurais—militant at that time—were brandishing their blades. And we, instead of harmoniously developing our economy, began to inflate our fat bellies and muscles with "air"—gross output.

The heroic and terrible years of the Great Patriotic War taught us a great deal, but with respect to a number of fundamental issues they could not make us listen to reason. Setting up a peaceful life and organized and friendly work in the fields and shops of plants relied mainly on appeals to "work self-sacrificingly in the name of the Homeland and future generations." And the people worked sparing neither their efforts nor their health.

But it was impossible to exploit the energy of the appeal and the energy of the people indefinitely. "Inspiration for labor" was manifested by far from everyone and the appeal to work conscientiously and extra energy, as many years of experience showed, could not be the only motivating factor. That this was actually the case was convincingly shown once again by our recent conversation in the editorial offices with the economist V.Ye. Glazkov. This individual fortunately has a profound knowledge of engineering as well: He is a graduate of the N.Ye. Zhukovskiy Air Force Engineering Academy, and subsequently worked for almost a quarter of a century in the Kvant NPO where he was directly involved in labor relations at the enterprise.

Thus Vladimir Yefimovich Glazkov embodied his thoughts about the causes of people's behavior in production in a simple formula of motivation.

"People's motivation for labor," he says, "can be expressed as the product of three factors. The first factor is the retarding motive—for instance, the fear of losing one's beloved job, of being deprived of a means of existence, and the danger of getting in trouble with the boss. The second factor is material interest in increasing earnings. All this is clear. The third factor is the level of the individual's sociopolitical awareness, his internal need to work conscientiously and with a high return.

The scholar clarifies that for the average statistical member of society, the motivation for labor—the product of these three factors—is a constant amount. It cannot be equal to zero, and this means that no one of the three motives can drop below the zero mark, just as it cannot be equal to infinity. Based on these conditions, Glazkov asserts that in order for the human factor to produce a high return, the production organizers must encourage a constant growth of all three motives.

Let us consider the historical formula for the motivation of labor. During the years of Stalinism one of the major factors in the motivation was fear because any obvious

shirking of duty or tardiness for work was punished by the court and could even turn an individual into an "enemy of the people." This means that the first factor of the equation was relatively greater than the others.

And material interest in working with a high return (the second motive) was extremely low. But at the same time it was not equal to zero. For instance, during those years the people worked in the fields for practically nothing—for work days, which at the end of the year they could turn in for scanty kilograms of grain and potatoes. So even then the people's hope for material incentives did not die out.

In all years we have had plenty of appeals to work conscientiously (the third motive). And it must be admitted that a considerable percentage of the workers worked honorably for many decades "in the name of a brighter future." But during the period of stagnation, when the falsity of many of the appeals became especially obvious, the third motive began to decline sharply. And it is no accident that in many branches of the national economy the actual growth rates began to grow very slowly at the beginning of the eighties.

How are things now, and how effective are the three constituent parts of the human factor? The first motive—the fear of being deprived of one's beloved job—now has an effect on far from every worker. Why? There are still many productions where working conditions must be decisively improved and labor must be mechanized and its content enriched. And then many people do not value their jobs because the selection is too great. Plants have been built up, the output of machine tools has increased, and there is an obvious shortage of workers to run them. The number of unfilled jobs in our country runs into the millions. Here is one of the wasteful plan disproportions! For this reason there are also many people who wander from place to place, guided by the saying: "A fish looks for deeper waters, a person looks for better places."

It should be noted that the second factor—material interest—is now increasing in weight and significance every day. And we are right to be so persistent and consistent in introducing complete khozraschet, rental relations, and production cooperatives. It is good that this factor in motivation will perhaps be the main one in the future. Why? Because if one is to speak of the basics, one discovers that our system regulates mainly a fair policy for distribution of the goods that have been created among members of society according to the results of their labor. Precisely according to the real results! One must not give out unearned rubles in order to moderate inflation. And another thing: It is necessary to establish a flexible dependency between incomes and taxes.

And what about the third motive nowadays—the sociopolitical consciousness of the people, the degree of their moral maturity? During the period of democratization and glasnost the people's consciousness and their creative activity are increasing. When the people see the final goals and believe in the success of the restructuring, of course, their consciousness and the sense of responsibility for the fate of the enterprise and the homeland will become for the majority of workers the natural norm for behavior. But it is still too early to boast: Tendencies toward nihilism, weakness, and irresponsibility are still strong.

The situation in production will also be improved by the sharp reduction of the amount of time between the results of labor and the payment for it. The income that is earned or, rather, some of it should immediately be distributed according to the results of the labor among members of the collective. It is not as good if the income is initially gathered in a common pot and is then "ladled" out and distributed among those who have created it. This generates an attitude toward "state" money, as though it belongs to nobody. Hence the collective's indifference to losses and the high production cost of the items. And all these are constituent parts of inflation.

Speaking of disproportions, I would like to ask our planners directly why they have allowed such absurdities in the distribution of capital investments among the branches and why they have "offended" the social sphere by falling short in the production of goods and services. After all, this has continued over many five-year plans. Did they really not know that light industry produces 14-18 percent of all industrial items and for many five-year plans only a couple of percentage points of the money designated for industry as a whole have been invested in light industry development?

In order to conquer inflation it is necessary to increase the mass of commodities. But why even now are we obviously failing to fulfill the Comprehensive Program for Development of the Production of Goods and the Sphere of Services? It was intended to construct 360 facilities in 1986-1989, and work has been started on 238 of them. We should have introduced 255 facilities, and 112 will be introduced. The ink on the pages of the program has not had time to dry, and here we are—moving backward...

And there are more defects in planning this year as well. There are clearly not enough radios, television sets, sewing machines, refrigerators, and other durable goods for sale, and their output is increasing insignificantly or even decreasing. According to the data of the Gosplan workers themselves, trade's orders for television sets exceed their production by 830,000 units, refrigerators and freezers—1.6 million, and electric vacuum cleaners—850,000, and there are almost a million fewer sewing machines than are needed by the consumers. Does this really not feed inflation?

Our branch ministries and the USSR Gosplan do not intended to rectify the distortions and disproportions until the Thirteenth 5-Year Plan. But what can we do now with our earned rubles, which are galloping after goods but cannot catch up with them?

Only the Gosplan and the USSR Ministry of Finance, in conjunction with the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, are capable of building a dam also on the other "branch of the river" through which money flows into a half-empty market. During the course of improvement of khozraschet they will have to put an end to unearned income both in cooperatives and in enterprises of the state sector. Here is V.Ye. Glazkov's opinion regarding this. With repeated reworking of the products during the course of their manufacture, each time the enterprise purchases materials and batching items at one price, it sells them at another, higher price. But this is already legalized speculation in the enterprises. And this is one more channel of unearned money. In order to escape from this situation, it is necessary to calculate profit only for the value that is created at a given enterprise. And labor productivity should be determined according to the actual net output, as is done at enterprises of the USSR Ministry of the Petrochemical Industry.

The attack on inflation should be waged from all sides. First, we must work better and more productively; we must reduce losses of all resources not in words but in deeds; and we must fight mercilessly against theft. Second, we must use capital investments more intelligently. About 80 percent of them should be used even now for re-equipment of existing plants, and the remaining 20 percent for new construction. Third, we must more persistently effect a mass reduction of administrative staff, mainly at the plants. The fewer the mouths we have to feed of people who are not producing products, the greater the savings on wages, and, thus, the lower inflation will be. In recent years it has been possible to reduce defense expenditures. It is necessary to calculate carefully what each space program costs.

If we do not do this, the unwanted guest—inflation—will be in our stores and markets for a long time.

*Foreign Currency Black Market Examined

WA1800047489 Moscow TRUD in Russian 2 Feb 89 p 3

[Article by Yu. Dmitriyev and A. Seregin: "Grimaces of the 'Black Market'"]

[Text] This issue justifiably concerns and worries many Soviet citizens, including Muscovites. Unfortunately, illegal speculative operations in foreign currency have recently been on the increase. Tremendous incomes are generated without labor input. It is necessary to figure out what makes the "black market" tick and what the reasons are for its growth. We should name the shortcomings that facilitate the development of this underground business.

Let us turn to statistics, however tentative, which are a quite graphic reflection of the "black market."

Here is a simple example. A foreigner bought a tape recorder at a hard- currency "Beriozka" shop for $200 and sold it to a Soviet citizen for 1,200 rubles. This sum began to circulate in the "black market." Taking into account the fact that, out of the $200 received by "Beriozka" for the tape recorder, "Invalyuttorg" spent $100 to purchase it abroad, it turns out that only $100 became state revenue.

What is the point of these underground hard-currency operations? Not only our hard-currency speculators, but also foreign nationals residing in the Soviet Union purchase dollars or West German marks from foreigners visiting the USSR. The question is: What do the foreigners need them for? The answer is simple: this is "business." Subsequently, they will sell these dollars (but at a higher price) to other foreigners, frequently the ones leaving the USSR, or will use them to purchase yet another tape recorder in "Beriozka" to be resold for rubles at many times the price, or, finally, will bring a tape recorder from a foreign trip themselves...

The scope of such operations and the profits they generate in the "black market" may be ascertained easily if we admit that almost all "Beriozka" merchandise travels this very path. Does anyone earnestly believe that foreigners buy sound equipment or clothing there for their own use?

Another example. Let us assume that profitable goods are not available at "Beriozka" at the time, or that a foreigner decides not to bother about operations with bulky items that cannot be hidden in his pocket. Then he simply resells the above $200 for 1,200 rubles. After all, there are plenty of prospective buyers, especially if we take into account the fact that some foreign buyers are ready to go as high as 8 rubles to the dollar. The currency ends up with them, the foreign buyers, having gone through several middlemen. Now we do not have even the $100 we obtained through "Beriozka" in the first case, and the "black market" absorbs as much as 1,600 rubles.

Why do the foreigners pay top prices for hard currency? Because they extract profits from it which they could not dream about when they lived in their native country. They bring to our country foreign-made goods which are in demand from their trips abroad. By reselling the goods, even at wholesale, they can get 2,000 to 3,000 rubles for the 1,600 rubles spent to purcase hard currency.

These sums, earmarked for our internal circulation, end up mainly in the "black market." They are not returned to our state through trade because the choice of goods in the shops is poor. The money "drifts away." New bills must be printed in order to pay employee salaries. Naturally, this fuels inflation.

Recently, the Soviet ruble from our "black market" has ventured far beyond the boundaries of our country. There have been cases when some of our representative offices abroad were approached by individuals and, occasionally, entire companies with requests to exchange millions of rubles in their possession into hard currency. In these cases, they refer to the fact that 10-ruble bills and higher denominations indicate that they are secured by gold. After receiving explanations that we do not give hard currency for rubles, foreigners float this money in their "black market," where the ruble fetches still fewer dollars than in our country. Do these rubles find a purchaser? Yes, and how! A foreigner who wants to "do business" may simply purchase 2,000 rubles for $200 and take them to the Soviet Union...

Let us quote one quite telling advertisement published on 30 November 1988 in the emigre newspaper NOVOYE RUSSKOYE SLOVO in the U.S.: "We change U.S. dollars into Soviet rubles with guaranteed delivery to the recipient in the USSR. (Not bad! Delivery, no less!)..."

How did our rubles end up abroad? Mainly through Soviet citizens and foreigners leaving the USSR. Shops geared to sales of goods to be taken abroad and "private" exchange offices eagerly accepting rubles as well operate in some Western cities. Apparently, this is profitable. After all, nothing is done in the capitalist world that is unprofitable. There is but one path left for these rubles, to the "black market," because we do not accept them officially, and they cannot rest as dead stock. First, it is the "black market" in the West and, subsequently, in our country.

The process of accumulation of our money abroad has become particularly apparent at present, when trips abroad by Soviet citizens have become precipitously more frequent. This is causing the unofficial exchange rate of the ruble to decline. At present, exchange offices give up to 10 rubles for a dollar, whereas in 1986 it was 6 to 7 rubles. In turn, the increase in the dollar-to-ruble exchange rate abroad pushes up the profitability of hard-currency speculation in the USSR.

The fact that, according to some calculations, the turnover of the "black market" in Moscow alone comes to hundreds of millions of rubles testifies to the scope of the "black market." The turnover, fueled by the difference in prices for foreign merchandise in our country and abroad, continues to grow rapidly. Approximately one-fourth of these sums is pocketed by our parasites and foreigners.

An increasing number of foreigners coming to our country satisfy their need for rubles in the "black market," rather than officially at the bank. ome of the leaders of tourist groups visiting the USSR frequently supply their tourists with rubles in this manner. They simply collect their currency, exchange it into rubles with Soviet or foreign hard currency speculators, and then distribute the money proportionately to the lire, francs, or dollars contributed. Many foreigners working in our country on various contracts do the same. The surprising fact is that many foreign representative offices have been operating in our country for many years receiving no rubles at all through official channels.

It should also be taken into account that it is more profitable for dealers to export convertible currencies—U.S. dollars, pounds sterling, West German marks. Currencies entering the "black market" vary. However, this problem is easily solved as well. Hard-currency speculators exchange, say, Finnish marks into dollars at many "Beriozka" cash registers for a modest fee (frequently paid in hard currency.) As a result, we receive, say, Finnish marks with limited convertibility accepted only in Finland instead of freely convertible dollars.

As can be seen, the "black market" under current conditions has turned into a stable system with an inherent expansion and activization trend. This market siphons off the currency earmarked for the state treasury more and more vigorously and contributes to inflation. This is the price we must pay for the free import of currency that supposedly ends up in our country and promotes hard-currency accumulation. Unfortunately, it does not end up here, and does not promote this. Actually, it results in tremendous economic and moral losses.

Who is to combat these losses resolutely? Apparently, some finance and trade offices still believe that this is the job of law enforcement agencies. This, however, resembles practices denounced by the party when a prosecutor was called in right away instead of having economic causes of, say, the failure of a plant to fulfill the plan found and eliminated. To our minds, first of all, the entire mechanism of hard-currency influx needs to be revised in order to root out the "black market..."

The uncontrolled stream of foreign currency entering our country needs to be shut off and rerouted into official channels with a view to actual rather than a mythical increase in the influx of hard currency. Non-hard currency services to foreigners paid for by credit cards or checkbooks are one variant. It may be worthwhile to introduce customs duties on goods purchased abroad and imported to the USSR. These duties should be collected at the time the goods are resold, as is the practice in many countries, even within the "Common Market," rather than by the customs. Reselling the goods purchased abroad will become unprofitable.

The operation of hard-currency "Beriozka" shops should be profoundly revised. In particular, we need to figure out why deliveries of tape recorders to shops for diplomats exceed the number of diplomats accredited in Moscow severalfold. Besides, the quality of recorders is so poor that it cannot by any means satisfy the diplomats. Who actually buys them up? How do the "Beriozka" shops meet their quotas?

To be sure, the "black market" will not be rooted out by the measures outlined. However, they will restrict its operation significantly.

The criminal legislation currently in effect was developed quite a while ago. It criminalizes only the transactions of buying or selling currency valuables, that is, the act of purchasing or selling them. In other words, the transaction itself needs to be documented in order to bring a currency speculator to trial. Also, proceedings are instituted against both the seller and the buyer, who, naturally, are not inclined to admit to the transaction even if caught red-handed. This is why it is extremely difficult to actually accumulate the evidence needed to bring a currency speculator to trial.

The matter is even more complicated if speculation is at issue. In this instance, both the purchase and sale of the merchandise have to be proven, and the determination needs to be made that the speculator had the premeditated goal of making a profit. How can speculation be proven if, say, the merchandise was purchased abroad? Why is only the movement of goods across the border considered to be smuggling? After all, by merely transporting the goods to the USSR the operator does not achieve his pecuniary goal, and obtains profit only after the sale. Could the unofficial sale in the USSR of goods produced abroad be considered an extension of smuggling? At present, you cannot make people answer for this. Moreover, the merchandise cannot be confiscated.

Our practice shows that struggle against the illegal hard-currency operations and speculation based on the existing legal norms is not effective at all. What kind of norms are these if crimes, even the ones classified as crimes against the state, are committed in Moscow hundreds of times daily? Hundreds of crimes against the state that go unpunished daily! Has any person in a position of responsibility given any thought to this?

Certainly, you can give it some thought in a variety of ways. We may, for example, cancel the classification of illegal currency operations as crimes against the state, or raise the threshold sum for making the transaction criminal ten times or so. Statistics will improve overnight, and we may proudly report that the crime rate is going down continuously. However, such measures only serve to invigorate the "black market."

One of the ways out is as follows: Work out qualitatively new legal norms on the basis of a revised currency and finance arrangement. We should criminalize repeated findings of currency valuables that are not properly documented on a foreigner or a Soviet citizen over, say, a period of 1 year, or, for example, the absence of receipts for the payment of customs duties when goods are resold.

Of course, we cannot say that no work at all is being done. For example, relatively recently the criminal activities of several dozen currency speculators were brought to a close; their turnover ranged between hundreds of thousands and millions of dollars. (As was established in the course of court proceedings against Lisyunenko, Shilts and Shchekin, the criminals have handled over $7 million.) However, others have taken their place.

The best way to solve this problem would be to produce high-quality domestic goods in adequate quantities. In this event, the issue of making the ruble convertible can be raised. All hard-currency problems could be removed from the agenda at that point. For now, we need to organize effective struggle against the "black market" at all levels.

Agricultural

Leaders Attend Food Production Seminar in Ukraine

Food Output 'Vital' to Reform

LD0602133189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 6 Feb 89

[Text] Issues relating to increasing party influence over the development of the food complex and enhancing the role of towns and industrial centers in improving the provision of foodstuffs to the population are at the center of attention at an all-union seminar-conference that opened 6 February in Kharkov. Taking part in its work are Comrades Ligachev, Nikonov, Shcherbitskiy, and Vlasov. The first secretaries of party town committees and chairmen of town executive committees of oblast, kray, and republic centers, heads of a number of ministries and departments, and representatives of the mass media have been invited to the conference.

The seminar-conference was opened by Ligachev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. He stressed that providing the population with sufficient foodstuffs is the most vital and urgent task of restructuring. Among measures aimed at improving the food supply to the population is the active participation of towns in developing the agrarian sector of the national economy. Real restructuring is needed for a number of positions in the links between town and country. Now it is a matter of making greater use than ever before of the production, scientific, technological, and intellectual potential of towns for resolving rural problems, and of the reconstruction of the processing industry ultimately for a significant improvement of the supply of food produce to the population.

Following this, Nikonov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, gave a report at the seminar-conference.

Ligachev Emphasizes Improved Technology

LD0602180189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 6 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] An all-union conference-seminar of first secretaries of gorkoms and chairmen of gorispolkoms of the country's oblast, kray, and republican centers began work in Kharkov today. Under discussion are the tasks of the party and local soviet bodies of the country's towns and industrial centers in following the food program. Taking part in its work are comrades Ligachev, Nikonov, Shcherbitskiy, and Vlasov, and Comrade Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. The conference was opened by Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev. [video shows the meeting in session, focusing on Nikonov and Ligachev, then on Shcherbitskiy, Vlasov, then Silayev, cutting to Ligachev delivering his address]

[Begin Ligachev recording] The main base for the resolution of the food problem lies in our kolkhozes and sovkhozes, in agriculture. But, as you yourselves understand, much also depends on the participation of the towns, the party and local soviet organizations, and the labor collectives, on their participation in the development of the agricultural sector of the national economy. I think that you'll agree with me if I say that real restructuring is required on a number of the mutual links between the town and the countryside.

The current issue, comrades, is that there is a greater need than ever to utilize the enormous production and scientific and technical potential of the towns to resolve rural problems and for the profound reconstruction of the food-processing industry—in short, for a fundamental improvement in providing the population of our country with food products.

What does that mean, comrades? That means a whole package of cardinal measures. First and foremost, I would like to say the following: It is necessary to technically retool the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, provide for the peasants by building ample social amenities, build modern bases for the storage of agricultural raw materials and food products, constantly develop the subsidiary farms of enterprises and organizations, expand hothouse enterprises, and, I would say, in effect to create an advanced, modern food industry. [end recording]

Nikonov Views Existing Problems

LD0602182289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 6 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report on speech by CPSU Central Committee Politburo Member Viktor Petrovich Nikonov to the all-union conference on food production in Kharkov on 6 February—recorded]

[Text] [Nikonov] Both at the 19th All-Union Party Conference and report-back and election meetings, and now at constituency meetings, we and you have been criticized for sluggishness and sometimes obvious lack of prompt responses in using the existing material, technical, and intellectual potential of society, and for inefficient use of real opportunities to better solve many problems, above all, those directly linked to improving the people's material well-being.

The population's income is growing and demand for food and non-food consumer goods is growing too. Lagging behind in producing these things and lack of balance between demand and supply result, primarily, in a negative reaction from the population. Dissatisfaction with the way the food problem is now being solved is being voiced in the most acute manner. Lately, in the majority of towns and workers' settlements, this problem has been named not simply as a primary one but as an extraordinary one.

In his reports, speeches, and private conversations with working people, Mikhail Sergeyevich has constantly stressed that the roots of our shortcomings in developing the country's agroindustrial complex indeed go deep in to our history. We see that. But one should also see that today's shortcomings are determined to a great extent by our current attitude toward the land; to those who work on it; to the principle of working by the day [podenshchina]; to the ingrained parasitism of whole territories and regions; to the negligent attitude to harvesting, processing, storing, and marketing the produce; to the poorly adjusted production and economic relations in the agro-industrial complex; and to the profoundly deformed mutual links and mutual relations between towns and rural area.

[Announcer] The falling behind of the agrarian sector is general knowledge, the speaker continued. But while noting this fact, Viktor Petrovich Nikonov stressed, one cannot fail to mention that in many oblasts and krays, joint cooperative activity of enterprises and the countryside, and the work of agrofirms and agrocombines has yielded good results. In other words, one could say that where cooperation between town and country has been put on a firm ecological basis, everyone is the winner.

[Nikonov] By actively rejuvenating politics and ridding ourselves of what was not active in the past, we all every day feel deeper that the right path, the path of restructuring, has been found.

It is difficult, but the party of communism enjoys powerful support, for in revolutionary changes it depends not on some fortuitous quick gains or individual strata and groups of society, but on the great and mass firmness of the will of the people, who want to build a life based on truth and high respect for each individual as a person, without dramatizing complex situations that occur quite often in the process of restructuring, without extreme opinions, and in a businesslike way. [applause] [video shows Nikonov speaking]

*Agricultural Leaseholders' Legal Status Viewed

WA1800046989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 1 Feb 89 p 1

[Interview with Yu.D. Severin, RSFSR first deputy minister of justice, by V. Vedernikov: "The Business of Leasing"; date, place of interview not given]

[Text] [Vedernikov] On 28 January in the notes entitled "Leasing Teaches How To Live Honestly" we told about the vicissitudes of the leasehold element in the Tambov "Krasnozvezdinskiy" Sovkhoz. Difficult conditions were created for the leaseholders. Even the procurators took up arms against them. Only the courts helped the supporters of leasing. But the case dragged on for a long time. And other letters to the editor indicate that there are many obstacles on the road to the new relations. Moreover, the peasants, to put it simply, have misgivings that the finding in the case may be reversed. Here we come directly to the question: What are the legal safeguards for leaseholders today?

[Severin] It would be stretching a point to say that leasehold relations already have a solid legal basis. But on the other hand, conclusions that the leaseholder is in a legal vacuum are unsound and pessimistic. The laws on state enterprise and the cooperatives, and the Model Kolkhoz Charter contain important provisions on leaseholding forms of farming. There are legal guarantees for progressive forms of labor organization in the countryside! The fact that they are still not universal and that there are many "blank spots" is another matter. This fact is often used to infringe on the rights of the leaseholder. The task has been clearly formulated: It is necessary to return the land to the master of the land, make maximum use of the potential inherent in the form of socialist ownership, and do everything possible to make the person master of the land in the economic and legal sense, and firmly guarantee this.

The opinion is held that since there is not yet a law on leaseholding, then the farm cannot bring suit against the leaseholder, nor the leaseholder against the farm to claim compensation, for example. This, of course, is not so. Mutual responsibility is established by the standards of civil and labor law. Here is a specific example. A brigade made up of four persons concluded an agreement with the kolkhoz Imeni Kalinin in Kagalnitskiy Rayon, Rostov Oblast to fatten 400 head of beef and calves. But there followed a whole series of violations on the part of the farm that essentially undermined the foundation of the agreement. The members of the brigade demanded that the agreement be canceled. The kolkhoz refused to pay for work done under the terms of the agreement. The leaseholders appealed to the courts, which satisfied their demands and ordered the kolkhoz to pay R6,500.

[Vedernikov] Strange, is it not? Those who should be concerned about the leaseholders are trying to cheat them and not pay them. There is some risk for a person when he enters into a leasehold, but instead of helping him they set obstacles.

[Severin] As we see, the courts handle everything within their jurisdiction, but there are still just as many attempts to twist the leaseholder around the finger, and this is indicated by the information from the local level. And in general, there is no mystery about the actions of some farm managers. For many years there has been a tendency to leveling and payment for work not actually done. Hence also the rejection of real wages if they go beyond the framework of established standards. The stereotypes of the old thinking are still current. The leasehold collective is a collective of enterprising and independent workers. This is precisely why the creation of such collectives frightens some managers because it threatens their right to command and wield power unchecked.

The mistakes of the managers are costly. What I have in mind is not only the money that the court makes the sovkhozes and kolkhozes pay for the unreasonable actions of their leaders. There is great moral and ethical harm. Try to get those who have been forced to defend their legal rights in the courts to enter again into leasehold arrangements...

Through its actions the administration at the "Ust-Lamenskiy" Sovkhoz in Golyshmanovskiy Rayon, Tyumen Oblast forced the leaseholders to turn to the courts. One of those claiming damages, M. Bazhenov, said with bitterness: "I took part in the Great Patriotic War and was disabled. If they had settled accounts with me according to the terms of the agreement, I would have continued raising cattle. But the red tape with the accounts beat my willingness to work out of me. I shall handle no more cattle." Another person involved in these events said: "They can go on their knees to me, they can bow and scrape all they like; I never again want to have any dealings with this sovkhoz."

Their example is to others a "science." The courts should remember this when they deal with similar cases and determine the measure of responsibility for those guilty of infringing on the interests of leaseholders.

The trouble is that the leaseholders know little about their own rights and do not know how to conclude an agreement correctly. So right from the start the prerequisites exist for conflict situations that must be resolved by the courts. Leaseholders must study and eliminate their legal illiteracy. Here, the legal services have a major contribution to offer. Unfortunately, at the local level legal services for leaseholders are slow in coming.

It must be self-critically admitted that the legal departments are doing little to study the practice of providing legal safeguards for the contract and lease and are failing to analyze the reasons for nonperformance of contracts and not adequately spearheading the legal services, the legal profession, and the legal cooperatives in finding solutions to these problems. A check has shown, for example, that in Kaliningrad Oblast, the leaseholders

play virtually no role in the drawing up of the agreements. The agreements are stamped out according to a stereotype pattern, with no consideration of local conditions. The democratic nature of leasehold relations is essentially being emasculated.

The collegium of the RSFSR Ministry of Justice has considered the question of the activity of the legal agencies and the courts in providing legal support for lease-contract forms of work in the agro-industrial complex. We have also "been found wanting" with respect to the leaseholders and are now taking urgent steps to provide legal support for them.

[Vedernikov] Cases involving leaseholding have been dealt with primarily by the rayon courts. How ready are they today for this mission?

[Severin] I think that the degree of readiness is good enough. The courts are protecting the interests of the leaseholders quite reliably and with sufficient skill. At least, there have been no cases in which their decisions have been overthrown or altered. On this plane, the position of the court in maintaining contractual obligations has been defined quite clearly.

But there is another important aspect in settling leasehold disputes. The review of a case in the court should be a lesson in practical policy and public morals. In cases concerning leaseholdings, what is needed is not merely the return of money to those who have suffered damages. It is important by means of jurisdiction to influence eradication of the causes leading to infringement of the legal rights of leaseholders. I have already mentioned the "Ust-Lamenskiy" Sovkhoz in Tyumen Oblast. Not one of the cases in the disputes with it was tried in an out-of-town session, even though a public trial would have been instructive. This kind of passivity is impermissible.

[Vedernikov] You have cited examples in which the aggrieved party was the leaseholder. Will the farm managers not sense some tendentiousness here? Are there no cases in which the kolkhozes or sovkhozes have been the plaintiffs?

[Severin] I do not think there is any tendentiousness, but it may be sensed as such. For about every three cases in which the rights of leaseholders have been violated there is one case in which the victim is an agricultural enterprise. Naturally, the courts must protect the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, or, more accurately, the lease itself, against self-seekers and all kinds of dishonest people. It is no secret that some people thoughtlessly see in the lease a direct way to obtain undeserved money. The "Voronino" Sovkhoz in Batetskiy Rayon, Novgorod Oblast gave a certain Sukhanov two dozen beef cattle for fattening, and even supplied thousands of rubles to do it. The "leaseholder"—whom a check showed was a person with no fixed address—soon absconded with what he had been given. When they finally remembered him and found him, Sukhanov had neither cattle nor money. The Pskov Rayon People's Court where the case was tried decided that Sukhanov must pay compensation of R18,000. The court also made a partial ruling on the irresponsibility of the farm administration, and this was passed on to the rayon agro-industrial association in Batetskiy Rayon.

[Vedernikov] How do you see the further legal consolidation of leasehold relations?

[Severin] A leasehold law is vitally necessary. Work on a draft is in full swing. The law should define the main provisions of leasehold relations. It should clearly state that the state will help strengthen those relations and develop the initiative and independence of the workers. It is necessary to underpin as a legal standard that as a rule a lease is offered for a long period. This will facilitate confident work on a long-term basis. Questions requiring legal resolution include the rights and obligations of lessees in the use of tracts of land, the various kinds of equipment, and the marketing of output. Legal regulation is needed in procedures used to conclude and maintain agreements. I would like to caution against the easy approach: The law will not operate automatically; implementation of it will require serious practical steps. Here what is needed is a very serious and responsible attitude toward the matter by workers in the agro-industrial system, the leaders of agricultural enterprises, and the jurists.

To end our conversation I would like to mention the following episode. Earlier I recalled the suit filed by leaseholders against the kolkhoz Imeni Kalinin in Rostov Oblast. After the judgment, brigade leader Comrade Maseycho stated the following: "Now we have experience and have been assured of justice. Since the new work form is advantageous for everyone, we shall also engage in it in the future."

As you see, legal support does bring forth its fruits.

Agricultural Developments for 26 Jan-1 Feb

LD0202041089 [Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, unless otherwise indicated, on 26 Jan-1 Feb. GMT times of broadcasts are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

26 January

In Kirghizia about 300,000 hectares will be sown with cereals this year. (0700)

27 January

A considerable proportion of the land set aside this year for grain crops and cereals in Kirghizia will be sown with the promising barley varieties of Druzhba and Odesskiy, which locally yield over 50 quintals of grain per hectare. (0200)

From this year onward, the new hard wheat varieties Gordeyevskaya-53 and Orenburgskaya-10 will be zoned in Altay Kray; their grain is eminently suitable for producing macaroni. (0200)

28-31 January

No fileworthy items monitored.

1 February

In the altay the preparation of seeds for the whole area to be sown with spring crops—an area of more than 4 million hectares in the kray—has been completed. The grain growers of the major Siberian granary paid special attention to their main crop, spring wheat. In going over to financial autonomy and self-financing, the farms in the Kray will re-examine their attitude toward such profitable crops as millet, buckwheat, and peas. This year the area sown to them will be considerably expanded. (1400)

Scientific

'New-Generation' Nuclear Reactor in Belorussia

LD0702091889 Moscow TASS in English 0819 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] Minsk February 7 TASS—A new-generation power plant—nuclear ball reactor—has been developed by Belorussian scientists and specialists. It combines safety and increased power output.

The designers have proposed to use in it tiny balls of nuclear fuel, enclosed in protective casings, instead of the usual heat-producing elements. Placed in the reactor, they increase power output many times over due to a much bigger heat yielding surface (as compared to the surface of the conventional fuel rods). This makes it possible to feed scores of times less fuel into the active zone of the ball reactor than into traditional nuclear plants, thereby reducing the consequences of possible accidents to really insignificant dimensions. Fresh fuel will have to be provided to the reactor not once a year, as usual, but in small portions once in several weeks.

"Scores of inventions, as well as the results of major fundamental hydro- and thermo-dynamical research, have been used in developing the reactor, a TASS correspondent was told by Vladimir Sorokin, director of the Nuclear Energy Institute under the Academy of Sciences of Belorussia. "The operation of the reactor's main subassemblies has been checked by electronic computers. Numerous pilot experiments have been carried out", he said.

'Phobos' Probe Measures Martian Surface

LD0302145389 Moscow TASS in English 1447 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 3 TASS—The interplanetary probe Phobos put into orbit of a Martian artificial satellite, started explorations.

On February 1 the probe conducted a measuring session when it passed the Martian surface at the closest distance. Instruments of the plasma and wave system and magnetometers operated during the session. The probe also registered infrared and gamma radiation of the planet. Information is being processed by participants in the experiment. It is planned to conduct several more sessions of this type on this orbit.

Successful Mars Probe, 'Buran' Plans Viewed

LD0302231989 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 2000 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] Last [illegible]nday a Soviet spacecraft, after a voyage of over half a year, went into orbit around Mars. This and other developments in the Soviet space programme are the subjects our science correspondent Boris Belitsky discusses in "Vantage Point" today:

[Belitskiy] Twelve other countries and the European Space Agency, as well as the Soviet Union, contributed instruments to this spacecraft, which on Sunday afternoon fired its retro rocket for exactly 201 seconds to slow its flight and slip into orbit around Mars. Its flight is being tracked by giant radio telescopes not only in the USSR but also in the United States, Spain, and Australia. But it was only 10 minutes after the breaking maneuver that an audible sigh of relief went up at the mission control center at Kaliningrad near Moscow. This was because that's the time it takes for a radio signal to cover the distance from Mars to Earth, or from the Earth to Mars for that matter. Imagine turning the steering wheel of your car and having to drive on for 10 minutes before the car begins making the turn. The sigh of relief at mission control was on this occasion particularly deep because this Soviet interplanetary probe, called Phobos II, has no back-up. The insertion into orbit just had to be successful otherwise the project was simply over. This was because the sister craft Phobos I had last September been put out of action by the omission of a single letter in a command dispatched to it—an omission estimated to have cost R300 million according to the now very cost-conscious leadership of the Soviet space program.

Soviet deep space ballistics experts have just worked out the exact parameters of the Phobos II craft's orbit around Mars, and following this the craft's sophisticated instruments have begun a detailed study of the Martian surface including its chemical and mineralogical composition, the planet's atmosphere, ionosphere, and magnetosphere. This study of Mars is expected to continue for 2 months instead of the earlier planned 3. After that, if all goes well, the craft will be transfered into an orbit

around the Martian satellite Phobos for a fascinating study of that Martian moon at close range. And not only at close range—the project includes the first ever landing on a minor body of the solar system. Two landers are to descend on Phobos, one of them a leap-frogger which is to bound across the satellite's surface in 20-meter leaps: another fascinating first in space exploration.

Meanwhile, scientists and engineers associated with the Soviet space shuttle Buran are busy analyzing the results of its extremely impressive maiden flight last November to decide whether its next flight is to be unmanned as planned earlier or manned, considering the success of the maiden flight. Seven cosmonauts have now been selected as the contingent for flights aboard Soviet reusable spacecraft of the shuttle type, with Igor Volk ... the obvious number one candidate thanks to his space flight experience. If it's decided to have the next flight manned, Buran will be flown by a two-man crew, with 51 year-old Volk almost certainly its commander. But Volk himself takes the view another unmanned flight may be needed to put Buran through its paces in the type of flight that its crew plan to undertake.

International Manned Flight to Mars 'Possible'

LD0502162189 Moscow TASS in English 1547 GMT 5 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 5 TASS—The international manned flight to Mars is possible. Most likely, it will take place early in the next millennium, a TASS correspondent was told by Soviet cosmonaut Aleksey Leonov. He noted that the hypothesis of a manned expedition to the "red planet" is being worked out in the Soviet Union and the USA. "I think that as a result of the implementation of the current international project, Phobos, it will become clear how close mankind is to making the long-held dream a reality."

Aleksey Leonov was the first man to walk in space. He also took part in the international Soviet-U.S. Soyuz-Apollo flight in 1975. At present General Leonov is deputy chief of the cosmonauts training centre near Moscow.

Speaking about the prospects for the manned expedition to Mars, General Leonov noted that foundations have been laid down already now. It is most likely that the Soviet-U.S. crew will head for the mystery planet. "As for the joint work with the astronauts, my colleagues and I have no doubts. There is a good example of that."

Evolving the subject of the future expedition, Aleksey Leonov said the reusable spacecraft "Buran", put into orbit by the Soviet space-rocket system, "Energy", made two revolutions around the Earth. In the future this system will be able to bring 100 tons of payloads to near earth orbit or 27 tons to Mars. This can be a spacecraft manned by an international crew, the cosmonaut said.

The Soviet and U.S. programmes, in particular, provide for the launch of "Earth" satellites of Mars for its comprehensive study in the early 1990s. The cosmonaut expressed the hope that Martian rock would be brought to Earth before the beginning of the next century.

'Mir' Crew Perform Supply, Geophysical Activities

'Progress-39' Undocked

LD0702100989 Moscow TASS in English 1002 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 7 TASS—Soviet cosmonauts Aleksandr Volkov, Sergey Krikalev and Valeriy Polyakov are continuing their work aboard the space research station Mir which has been in orbit for two years.

All planned work involving the unmanned space freighter Progress-39 completed in full, the spacecraft was undocked from the station at 0946 Moscow time on Tuesday.

The planned operations had included the unloading of freight and the pumping of drinking water, fuel and oxidizing agent from the supply craft to Mir's tanks, as well as the correction of the space station's orbit by means of the Progress-39 engine.

The space freighter will be put on a descent trajectory on Tuesday evening and then re-enter the dense layers of the atmosphere and cease to exist.

The three cosmonauts, in the meantime, are to do a number of technical and geophysics experiments during the day. In addition, Polyakov is to undergo an ultrasound study of his cardiovascular system.

The spacemen are continuing astrophysics reasearch under an international programme codenamed Roentgen. They conducted several more observations of the X-ray source X-3 in the Centaur Constellation on February 5 and 6.

The flight of the manned station Mir is continuing.

Crew Photographs Siberia

LD0602094689 Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 6 Feb 89

[Text] The Soviet cosmonauts working on the orbital complex Mir have completed a series of geophysical experiments. Aleksandr Volkov, Sergey Krikalev, and Valeriy Polyakov took pictures of the hard-to-reach regions of Siberia and the Central Asian republics. Those areas were also surveyed by a satellite from the Kosmos series equipped with a unique device. Pictures taken from the orbit will help look for natural resources and also for underground fresh water lakes. Specialists will likewise be able to choose the best places to build new towns and cities.

Cosmonauts 'Feeling Good'

LD0502162689 Moscow TASS in English 1533 GMT 5 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 5 TASS—"The cosmonauts are feeling good." Such reports keep coming from the Mir orbital complex, manned by Soviet cosmonauts Aleksandr Volkov, Sergey Krikalev and Valeriy Polyakov. This is largely due to systematic exercises, which are seen by medical specialists as a guarantee of the successful fulfillment of the flight programme by the cosmonauts.

An entire "mini-stadium" is available to the cosmonauts at the Mir station, complete with the "running track", veloergometer and other apparatus. Besides, the cosmonauts seem to enjoy the special suits which help redistribute blood and create the necessary loads in certain portions of the body. Their aim and purpose is to help man to overcome the undesirable impact of zero-gravity.

Training in space, specialists believe, is the logical continuation of the crew's physical training on earth. Exercises on a variety of simulators at the sports hall of the cosmonaut training centre in Moscow are included in the programme of pre-launch training. For example, the "Spartacus" complex simulator helps develop and exercise all groups of muscles. On earth any exercises by the crew are monitored by a doctor. Now the cosmonauts also have their own "family doctor," Valeriy Polyakov, on the orbit who sees to it that his colleagues keep fit in zero gravity.

Weather Forces Icebreaker To End Arctic Drift

LD0502103189 Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 5 Feb 89

[Text] The Soviet research icebreaker *Otto Schmidt* has been compelled to cut short its drift in the Arctic. Recently the vessel evacuated the research station North Pole 28 from a damaged ice flow. With the help of the nuclear-powered vessel *Rossiya*, the *Otto Schmidt* was then frozen into an ice island, a remnant of the ice flow on which the station worked, and continued drifting. Yet the ice island suddenly broke into pieces. The vessel left the danger area but remains in the Greenland Sea. The scientists aboard it are continuing to study water and ice.

Military

Defense Industry Converting to Civilian Output

Chernyshev Outlines Plans

LD0602115489 Moscow TASS in English 1148 GMT 6 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 6 TASS—By TASS military news analyst Vladimir Chernyshev:

The Soviet Union, which called on the international community to move from the economics of arms to an economics of disarmament, has already embarked upon the road of converting defence production to civilian uses.

Mikhail Gorbachev said at a meeting with representatives of the Trilateral Commission on January 18 that the Soviet Union has begun to integrate defence and civilian production and that the Soviet defence budget would be reduced by 14.2 percent and the production of armaments and defence hardware would be cut down by 19.5 percent. In 1988 the Soviet Union began to convert a number of defence plants to civilian uses because of the implementation of the INF Treaty.

A program has been worked out in the Soviet Union for the coming eight years (1988-1995) for the establishment and development of a mass production of high-performance technological equipment for the processing of farm products.

The conversion of the defence industry has a prominent place in this programme and specific areas of civilian production have already been determined.

It is planned to build 29,000 plants and technically to re-equip 38,000 ones for the processing of agrarian raw materials. The aggregate volume of up-to-date equipment to be produced will be worth 37,000 million rubles, including 17,500 million rubles worth of equipment to be turned out by the defence industry. In all, 4,500 types of new equipment are to be developed between 1988 and 1995 for the needs of processing, including 3,000 by defence plants.

With this end in view, more than 200 design bureaux which now engage in the development of defence equipment and approximately 250 defence industry plants have joined in the development of machinery for the USSR State Agri-Industrial Committee. Some defence plants which are under construction are already being converted to civilian uses.

Evaluating conversion prospects as a whole, one should emphasise that this is not a supercomplex or utopian task. There is no doubt that its accomplishment will call for a solution to difficult problems of a technico-economic and social nature. However, the difficulties connected with this, in the opinion of Soviet specialists, will be short-lived and will not damage the economy, which possesses sufficient flexibility to find ways, during the conversion process, for rational utilisation of the financial, material, technical, and manpower resources being released for peaceful constructive purposes.

The temporary difficulties connected with conversion do not alter the positive effect from a curbing of the arms race, the improvement of the international situation, the building of trust in the world, and the release of resources for steady socioeconomic development.

Karpov on Problems of Conversion

PM0602122589 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 5, 4-10 Feb 89 (Signed to Press 2 Feb 89) pp 1, 3

[Interview with USSR Deputy Foreign Minister V. Karpov by correspondent D. Makarov: "Disarmament and the Economy"; date, place not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] How will the disarmament process now under way affect the development of the Soviet economy? ARGUMENTY I FAKTY Correspondent D. Makarov discusses this with USSR Deputy Foreign Minister V. Karpov.

[Makarov] First of all, allow me to congratulate you on your appointment to the post of deputy foreign minister and, at the same time, to put this question: What will your new functions be?

[Karpov] Thank you very much for the congratulations. Concerning my functions, they remain practically the same: Questions of disarmament and arms control and related problems; the apportioning of priorities when examining problems of disarmament and arms limitation, and what I would call adjacent spheres associated with disarmament topics but which spill over into the sphere of the economy, such as, for example, the conversion of the military industry and its switch to civilian production; questions connected with the weapons trade and its limitation—that is, questions of a kind which go beyond the framework of mere talk..

[Makarov] We now say that we are switching to a defensive doctrine. Does this mean that our military doctrine was offensive in nature in the past?

[Karpov] Well, I would not unequivocally say this about the nature of the doctrine just because we now say that a defensive configuration must be imparted to it, as though drawing the conclusion from this that it was not previously defensive. The whole purpose of our foreign policy since the October Revolution has been to defend the gains of socialism, and by our very nature we have had precisely to defend ourselves—at first against the Entente, and then also against other encroachments on our country.

The end of World War II saw the creation of the "cold war" atmosphere, when there was a clear-cut division of East and West into two camps. Under those conditions a situation took shape in which the Soviet Union, proceeding from its understanding of the strategic situation at the time, fashioned its idea of the special features of the building of our Armed Forces so that they could, if necessary, wage a defensive war in defense of our motherland and the entire socialist community. It was then that the gamble was made on creating large-scale armies equipped with modern hardware, including hardware designed for offensive operations. Under the circumstances this was evidently justified—from the viewpoint, again, I repeat, of that period and that philosophy. In response to the nuclear weapons the United States had had at its disposal ever since 1945 (while we gained access to them only some years later), we placed the emphasis on tanks and artillery, that is, on ground means that could create some counterweight to the U.S. nuclear weapons in Europe.

Under the conditions now, when the world has changed, when the new political thinking is making headway, and when the tasks of preserving modern civilization and defending common human values are coming to the fore, it has also become necessary to change the strategy of the USSR Armed Forces.

This does not mean we want to unilaterally reduce everything that can shoot and thus turn our Armed Forces into something like a pacifist organization. But we are taking the path of restructuring them. Take the unilateral measures announced by M.S. Gorbachev at the United Nations on 7 December. What is their import? People might say that reductions were also implemented under Khrushchev, at the end of the fifties. However, the present reductions are connected with a change in the very structure of the USSR Armed Forces. It is not just a reduction of the Army by 500,000 men; it is also a restructuring of the military by reducing the number of offensive arms and consequently increasing the defensive potential. That is, a motorized infantry division, for example, will now have fewer tanks, and it will have its large-caliber artillery pieces and assault river-crossing equipment designed to overcome obstacles during an offensive removed from it.

However, we will not, of course, be able to continue alone in this direction and totally eliminate, for example, our Armed Forces' potential for conducting large-scale operations. For this, corresponding accords with NATO are needed with regard to reductions in their armed forces commensurate with and essentially corresponding to our reductions—that is, reductions leading to the same result: a reduction in the offensive potential of the NATO Armed Forces and the imparting of a defensive nature to them.

[Makarov] An old stereotype is still current in the West: Do not trust the USSR because it totally conceals everything concerning its Army. Is it not time to lift the veil from this sphere, too?

[Karpov] I believe that the policy of glasnost simply obliges us to do so. The reform of the structure of state power, the creation of a new Supreme Soviet, and the granting of new functions to it in accordance with the changes to the Constitution, which have already been approved and which are still just the first part of the reform, must entail questions of military building, defense spending, and appropriations for the military

industry all becoming topics of discussion and decision-making after a comprehensive debate in the country's supreme organ of power. Spending which, under conditions of secrecy, goes to military needs is not always dictated precisely by those needs but might result from the inertia of the administrative apparatus or from some political guidelines that are already obsolete and need serious correction.

Take, for example, the decision to produce SS-20 missiles. It was adopted in the seventies. But we are now engaged in destroying all the missiles we have produced over these years and on which we have spent billions. We are now investing money in destroying them. Maybe we should have stopped at some time in the past and ceased production, particularly since the strategic situation, as is now coming to light, did not demand such mass deployment of SS-20 missiles. FRG Chancellor H. Schmidt proposed to us at the time, in the mid-seventies, a freeze on the deployment of our SS-20 missiles. In that instance Schmidt raised the question of the possibility of preventing deployment of Pershings and U.S. cruise missiles in Europe. But our conveyor belt was running, the stagnation period was at its height, and we thought and acted out of inertia. It seems to me that now, under conditions of glasnost and openness, we can no longer keep totally secret the problems of military spending, the strength of the Armed Forces, or even, perhaps, the tactical and technical data of the main types of arms the Soviet Union possesses. Openness in this sphere could help to create an atmosphere of trust between the USSR and the United States and between the Warsaw Pact and NATO and must also lead to a more rational distribution of our resources between civilian and military industry. Glasnost is essential here for the correct resolution of economic questions.

[Makarov] In its time a lot of money was also invested in construction of the Krasnoyarsk radar. Why was a decision adopted recently to re-equip it as a civilian project?

[Karpov] The decision to erect it was adopted at the end of the seventies. By 1983 construction had reached the stage where the Americans questioned us about the station's compliance with the provisions of the 1972 Treaty on the Limitation of ABM Systems. The chosen site and the fact that its construction resembled that of other radars we used to warn of a missile attack enabled the Americans to accuse us of circumventing the treaty's provisions, although the Krasnoyarsk station was being created for space tracking. We cited the Americans a whole number of reasons why the Krasnoyarsk station was needed for those purposes. But the Americans continued to press their own line, accusing us of failing to comply with a provision of the ABM Treaty. As a result, a situation was created whereby the political cost of constructing this station had become too great. Therefore, the USSR Government adopted the decision in October 1987 to freeze construction work at the Krasnoyarsk radar. That moratorium was proclaimed for 1 year. In September 1988 M.S. Gorbachev put forward a new proposal to create an international scientific space research center on the basis of the Krasnoyarsk radar. The USSR Academy of Sciences, to whose jurisdiction the station has been transferred, is now discussing the practical tasks the Krasnoyarsk radar could resolve in investigating space and the earth's atmosphere. When this work has been completed, it will be possible to invite the international scientific public to participate in discussing possible uses of the Krasnoyarsk radar in conducting research that would be part of a worldwide system of observations of, let us say, the upper layers of the atmosphere, meteorites, and so forth.

[Makarov] You said your new duties as a deputy minister will include overseeing the conversion of Soviet military enterprises. How will you carry out this new function?

[Karpov] My functions do not include overseeing the conversion of Soviet military enterprises, but instead studying the formulation of this issue on an international scale, as well as the experience of research into this problem accumulated by international organizations and other countries.

There is a mass of problems associated with conversion, that is, with the transfer of military industry enterprises to producing nonmilitary [mirnyy] output. There is the problem of employment, the retooling of enterprises, and the retraining of workers and employees. The reduction in arms production in the USSR recently announced by M.S. Gorbachev already amounts to 19.5 percent, you know. Subsequently, as the treaty on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms and the convention banning chemical weapons are signed and future accords on reducing conventional arms in Europe realized, these problems will intensify. A certain section of military enterprises will have to tackle the conversion of military hardware into civilian equipment.

In his conversation with representatives of the Trilateral Commission, M.S. Gorbachev said, for example, that 5,000 tanks will be converted into truck tractors for civilian needs. And the task of remodeling military hardware as civilian equipment will remain in the future—and on a still larger scale, moreover.

As yet, however, we have few specialists in such transformation of military enterprises, and we have done little research on this subject. Some things are being done. An interesting study is being prepared, for example, on the conversion of the Votkinsk plant, which has ceased production of SS-23 missiles because of the conclusion of the treaty with the United States. This study is earmarked for the ILO, which is showing great interest in the subject of conversion. At the same time, there are a number of interesting studies in other countries.

In this connection it is interesting to take a look at the structure of Japanese industry, for example, where the proportion of purely military production is infinitesimal—much less than 1 percent. At the same time, the Japanese military industry is highly efficient, and its output is of high quality. By utilizing other countries' experience we should think carefully about how to ensure the military industry's efficiency, given reduced levels of production, with a possible lowering of the cost of this output and a simultaneous increase in the complexity of its specifications.

[Makarov] Perhaps the way out here will be to switch our military industry enterprises to economic accountability with a gradual increase in the proportion of civilian output in their production, for there are extremely few companies in the West which produce purely military output.

[Karpov] You are right. Even when a Western firm has production of military hardware as its profiled specialty, all the same it does, as a rule, have developed civilian production. This is done in order, in the event of an unfavorable development of the situation, for example, in the production of particular kinds of weapons, to be able to quickly switch funds and reorient enterprises to nonmilitary production.

Second, this makes it possible to use military research in civilian industry. In the United States, for example, an invention made in the military sphere is, by law, automatically declassified 1 year later and may be used by the same firm in producing civilian output, and the firm owning the patent on the invention naturally has an interest in this. A special application from the Pentagon is needed to extend the period of secrecy.

In this connection we must give careful thought to how to use the system of orders for military needs so they provide the maximum return for civilian industry too, and we must draw up a system of material incentives for scientific personnel, designers, and engineers so they have an interest in utilizing military research for civilian purposes. In any case, there must be no breach between military and civilian industry. In this area, as is known, the USSR Council of Ministers is already taking specific measures aimed at increasing the production of consumer goods in military industry.

All these questions now demand the ever-greater attention of not only the Foreign Ministry, but also other departments which have a direct bearing on them.

Injustices, Bullying Persist in Military Life

PM0702090989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Jan 89 First Edition p 3

[PRAVDA Military Department report under the "We Serve the Soviet Union" rubric: "The Profession of Defending the Motherland"]

[Text] There is clearly no need to remind people that the profession of military defender of the motherland has been prestigious at all times. Our people have never held back when it comes to defending the fatherland. We remember the romantic aura that has surrounded officers—pilots, border troops, sailors... Young women have considered it a great honor to be able to unite their destiny with that of an officer. And all this is justified, because character traits like honor, dignity, courage, valor, and nobility have always distinguished Soviet officers.

Let us make it immediately clear that these qualities are characteristic of hundreds and thousands of today's officers, too. But why—and the large editorial mailbag bears witness here—has the prestige of this noble and most necessary profession so declined and, it must be asked, does it continue to decline? The editorial office receives alarming signals from Moscow, Minsk, Tbilisi, Tashkent, and many other cities, oblasts, and republics that young people today are not very keen on going to military college. We receive many letters from young and, incidentally, not so young officers (Major L. Krokha from Georgia, Senior Lieutenant K. Petrov from Baku, and so forth) who, having chosen a career in the army or navy, are now regretting it. People write to us about poor military discipline in army subunits, difficult living conditions for officers' families, abuse of office, bureaucracy, favoritism, and social injustice, which are imperceptibly eating away like microbes at the army organism.

Now that our society has embarked on cleansing and restoring itself from all the negative things inculcated in our society for decades, it is essential to expose the causes and the invisible processes sapping certain army and naval collectives. Otherwise it will be impossible to instill proper order—to strengthen military discipline and maintain the requisite level of combat readiness in units and subunits.

Cases where "unwelcome" or "inconvenient" officers are hounded out of the army are still quite common. Such injustice does irreparable damage to the prestige of the officer profession.

Major of Medical Services A. Khmaruk from Kerch was discharged from the Armed Forces almost 3 years ago—6 months before his pension. He was, it emerged, simply the victim of slander. Here is the response of the Main Military Prosecutor's Office: "...It has been established that the decision to discharge Major of Medical Services A.V. Khmaruk into the reserve in 1986 on grounds of discreditable conduct was unjustified.

"In view of this, the commander in chief of the Navy has been instructed to rescind the order discharging A.V. Khmaruk into the reserve under Article 61 of the Statute on Performance of Military Service by USSR Armed Forces Officer Personnel and to bring it into line with the law..."

A triumph of justice? Not at all. We were recently informed by the officer discharged into the reserve that the Main Military Prosecutor's Office decision had changed nothing in his life. Is it possible that we are defenseless in the face of highhandedness even in the army?

The fact that there are still many letters about bullying, which degrades and sullies the honor and dignity of defenders of the motherland, also causes deep concern. True, letters describing how this shameful phenomenon has been successfully stamped out have lately appeared in the editorial mail. But it is too soon to relax. It is time, has long been time, to stop regarding bullying as something innocent and trivial. It is a political question, because it involves the social status of the defenders of the motherland.

"Restructuring," Reserve Colonel A. Novikov writes from the city of Valdaya, "has not, unfortunately, affected the army itself so far. It seems that no one wants to get down to it seriously in the army. The top brass exhort while those on the ground do nothing. You just get words. And it is surprising that all this is seen, known, and talked about, but as favoritism, vulgarity, and arrogance have flourished, it all continues..."

His letter ends: "Is it possible we do not fully realize the threat we face?"

Leaders Sign Lt Gen Balakirev Obituary

PM0602155389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Feb 89 First Edition p 5

[V.I. Balakirev obituary]

[Excerpts] Lieutenant General Valeriy Ivanovich Balakirev, retired, an active participant in the Great Patriotic War and former senior party commission secretary at the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, died suddenly 1 February 1989 in his 67th year. He devoted all his politically conscious life to selfless service of the socialist motherland and the Communist Party, of which he had been a member since 1942.

V.I. Balakirev was born in 1922 in the city of Michurinsk in Tambov Oblast. [passage omitted]

In the postwar years V.I. Balakirev graduated from the V.I. Lenin Military-Political Academy. He subsequently became the chief of a combined unit and a strategic formation, and deputy chief of a district political directorate. From 1973 through 1987 he worked in the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate as deputy chief of the directorate of organizational-party work, chief of this directorate, and senior secretary of the party commission. [passage omitted]

[Signed] D.T. Yazov, M.A. Moiseyev, P.G. Lushev, A.D. Lizichev, Yu.P. Maksimov, Ye.F. Ivanovskiy, I.M. Tretyak, A.N. Yefimov, V.N. Chernavin, M.I. Sorokin, V.M. Arkhipov, V.M. Shabanov, N.V. Chekov, V.L. Govorov, D.S. Sukhorukov, A.I. Sorokin, V.S. Nechayev, G.A. Stefanovskiy, V.S. Rodin, M.D. Popkov, V.A. Silakov, L.L. Batekhin, V.I. Panin, A.I. Shirinkin, V.D. Lukinykh, A.I. Maslov.